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CONTENTS

"Peaceful Compromise" in New York City, 1860–1861 . . . . . JAMES J. HESLIN 349

Political Reform and the New York City Election of 1886 . . . . THOMAS J. CONDON 363

Nicholas Biddle Kittell (1822–1894): A Forgotten New York State Artist . . . . . HELEN BURR SMITH 395

The Politics of Upheaval in New York, 1689–1709 . . . . . LAWRENCE H. LEDER 413

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Whitehill, *Boston: A Topograpical History* . . JAMES J. HESLIN 428

Blake, *Public Health in the Town of Boston, 1630–1822* . . . . . GERTRUDE L. ANNAN 429

Shryock, *Medicine and Society in America, 1660–1860* . . . . . GERTRUDE L. ANNAN 431

Bailyn & Bailyn, *Massachusetts Shipping 1697–1714* . . . . . WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL 433

Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman: . . . English Liberal Thought . . . until the War with the Thirteen Colonies* . . . . . PHILIP L. WHITE 435

Billias, *General John Glover and His Marblehead Mariners* . . . . . NORTH CALLAHAN 436

Bakeless, *Turncoats, Traitors and Heroes* . . . . FRED J. COOK 438

Miller, *Alexander Hamilton: Portrait in Paradox* . HAROLD LARSON 439

Aldridge, *Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine* . . . . . EDWARD W. STITT, JR. 440

Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790–1830* . . . . . CARLOS R. ALLEN, JR. 442

Baringer, comp., *The Philosophy of Abraham Lincoln in His Own Words* . . . . . WILLIAM J. WOLF 443

Lindsey, "*Sunset*" *Cox, Irrepressible Democrat* . DAVID M. ELLIS 443

Index to Volume XLIV (January–October 1960) 445

NEW YORK CITY AND ITS WATERFRONT NORTHWARD FROM BATTERY PARK, LATE 1850S

Drawn on stone by C. Parsons and published by N. Currier, 1858

THE NEW-YORK
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"PEACEFUL COMPROMISE" IN NEW YORK CITY, 1860–1861

by James J. Heslin

AS THE LAST months of the troubled Buchanan administration came to an end supporters of the Union still hoped that secession might be avoided. To the President, the situation was agonizing. A peace-loving but indecisive man, deeply devoted to the Union, Buchanan, who had the temperament of a careful constitutionalist, was faced with a situation in which the calm processes of abstract reasoning were inadequate. Although sympathetic to the South, a sympathy which sometimes created suspicion in the North, Buchanan, nonetheless, ardently wished for the preservation of the Union.

Buchanan's Annual Message to Congress on December 3, 1860,[1] failed in its aim to achieve national harmony. In this address he referred to the "incessant and violent agitation of the

[1] S. Ex. Doc. I, 36 Cong., 2 Sess. I, 3–28.

slavery question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century" thus provoking the anti-slavery faction; he then denied the constitutional right of secession, thereby exasperating the Southern extremists; and he went on to argue that it was equally unconstitutional to coerce a State which had seceded, thereby confusing those groups which he had not irritated.

No State had actually seceded when Buchanan's Message was read. The American people had great faith in the efficacy of compromise for settling sectional differences and in the past this faith had been vindicated. Thus, there were many Americans who expected some solution to evolve despite the intransigent attitude of both the anti-slavery and die-hard secessionists groups. Congress, at this time, was the recipient of so many proposals and suggestions for peaceful compromise as to necessitate a committee from each House to evaluate the plans which were offered.

To the President and other believers in peaceful compromise, the attitude of South Carolina was especially trying. Significantly, the two Senators from that State, Chestnut and Hammond, were absent when Congress convened and their absence emphasized the intense pro-secession feeling in South Carolina during the first weeks of December, 1860. Finally, on December 20th, South Carolina passed the Ordinance of Secession, and to the accompaniment of cheers, fireworks, and music from its enthusiastic citizens, was launched as an independent entity.

The news from South Carolina was a blow to Buchanan.[2] He had hoped for peace and dreaded the prospect of Civil War. Now he was faced with a cruel dilemma. Asserting its right as a sovereign power, South Carolina seized Federal buildings and property and demanded the surrender of the three Forts, Castle Pinckney, Fort Moultrie, and Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor. To give up the Forts was inconceivable and so to Major Robert Anderson, in charge of these strongholds, was assigned

[2] The President heard the news while attending a wedding reception in Washington. The noise in the hall which greeted the announcement of South Carolina's secession prompted Buchanan to inquire if the house were on fire.

the unenviable task of avoiding aggression and yet repelling any effort to capture them. Anderson's decision to concentrate his small garrison at Fort Sumter, the position most easily defended, was carried out on December 26, 1860.[3] This move served to inflame the Charlestonians further, since they believed that the Administration had ordered the strategy. As a result, great tension was generated in an already explosive situation. Fort Sumter constituted no major threat to Charleston and it was as obvious to the Charlestonians as it was to the beleaguered Anderson that the Fort could be easily taken. At this time, however, it seemed to suit both North and South to avoid open conflict.[4] The border States were not ready for secession and there was still a general desire in the country for peaceful compromise.

Despite the secession of six additional States in January-February 1861,[5] most Northern newspapers during the winter of 1860–61, while denying the right of States to withdraw from the Union, also rejected coercion by the Federal Government. Even though efforts to achieve compromise were fruitless, attempts at conciliation went on. The Senate, for example, voted to appoint a Committee of Thirteen under the leadership of Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky to work out a plan which would placate the South on the slavery issue. The Virginia legislature called a Peace Convention which consisted of representatives from 21 of the 33 States invited to meet in Washington on February 4, 1861. Although both of these efforts were abortive, it is against this background that the sentiment in New York City must be viewed prior to the attack on Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861. Apart from the attitude of the extremists on both sides, it

[3] Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie were taken by South Carolina the next day, December 27, 1860.

[4] Even in April 1861, there was not complete unanimity in the Confederate Government concerning the advisability of capturing Fort Sumter.—Allan Nevins, *The War For The Union* (New York: 1959), I, 67–70.

[5] Secession ordinances were passed in Mississippi January 9, 1861; Florida, January 10; Alabama, January 11; Georgia, January 19; Louisiana, January 26; Texas, February 1; Virginia, April 17; Arkansas, May 6; Tennessee, May 7; North Carolina, May 20. These are the generally accepted dates although they do not coincide with the dates of popular voting on secession.—James R. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston: 1937), n. 234.

was clearly the hope of most thoughtful Americans that somehow harmony between North and South could be restored and the Union preserved.

The desire for peaceful compromise with the South was strong in New York City. There was considerable pro-Southern feeling in the city for a number of reasons which ranged from genuine aversion to fratricidal war and a belief in the Union to motives of economic self-interest.

New York, the citadel of commerce and industry, could be adversely affected if the Union were to disintegrate.[6] Millions of dollars were owed to New York businessmen by their Southern debtors and the prospect of a repudiation of these debts was chilling. In addition to commercial connections there were also social bonds between New York and Southern families.

As the leading port of the United States, it was natural for Southerners to use the shipping lines which ran between New York and Europe. In 1848, the Cunard Line shifted its western terminus from Boston to New York, thus marking a significant growth in trans-atlantic passenger traffic through the Port of New York. Cunard's most serious rival, the Inman Line, added New York, in 1857, to what had been originally a Liverpool-Philadelphia run. In 1856, the Hamburg-American Line sent its first steamship to New York—a move followed two years later by similar action on the part of the North-German Lloyd Line.[7] The Southern businessman, planter, or traveler was, as a result, not an uncommon sight in New York.

The stereotype of the Southerner, as depicted by the important New England writers prior to the Civil War, was absent in the works of their New York colleagues. As Howard Floan

[6] In an editorial on December 7, 1860, the New York *Times* scoffed at the "political or professional alarmists" who predicted disaster for commerce in New York in the event of a breakup in the Union. The general uneasiness in the city was not, however, allayed by this vigorous editorial.

[7] Robert Greenhalgh Albion, *The Rise of the Port of New York* (New York: 1939), 312–35. Many Southerners deplored this dependence on Northern shipping terminals.—Randall, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 111–13. By 1860 transatlantic steamship travel was largely in foreign hands.

pointed out in *The South in Northern Eyes*,[8] New York's major literary figures were more understanding toward the South. Melville and Whitman had a sympathy for the South which was also characteristic of the older New York writers such as James Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving. This attitude was due to the fact that the New York writers, unlike their New England counterparts, had social connections with the South and they had gained familiarity with the area through travel.

It can be reasonably deduced that the large immigrant population in the city played a part in New York's attitude toward the South, however indirect or passive that part may have been. While the majority of immigrants in New York City gravitated to the Democratic Party, which was more sympathetic to the South, the necessity to adapt to a new country naturally tended to occupy these new Americans with problems which did not allow many to participate actively in matters apart from ward politics. The immigrant population in general was, if not overtly pro-South, at least not anti-South, so that, in effect, it constituted a large group which might almost be defined as neutral. In view of the draft riots in New York in 1863, however, it would be less than accurate to classify this group as completely neutral; the Negro was seen as an economic threat by many unskilled immigrant workers.

Pro-Southern sentiment and the Southern point of view had ample means of expression in New York City. Some of the New York newspapers were frankly pro-slavery. *The Herald*, *The Day-Book*, and *The Daily News* were foremost in this attitude. *The Daily News*, for example, even before Buchanan's Annual Message, argued that while secession was illegal, coercion of the seceded States was no less so. *The Express* and *The Journal of Commerce*, the latter the voice of conservative businessmen, were strong for compromise with the South and forthright in presenting the Southern viewpoint.[9]

When Horace Greeley urged the "cotton States" to "go in

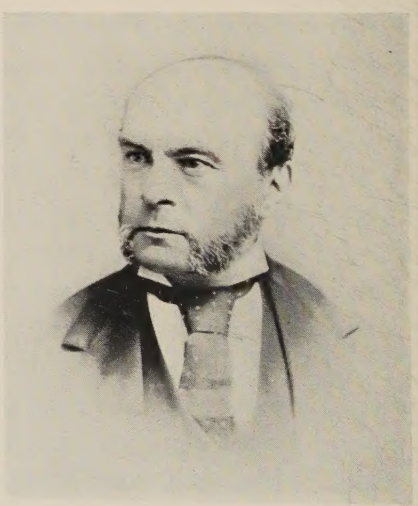
[8] Howard Floan, *The South in Northern Eyes* (Austin, Texas: 1958), 111–30.
[9] The *Times* and *Evening Post* were firmly against secession.

peace" in his *Tribune* editorial of November 9, 1860, he was expressing the sentiments of many of his fellow New Yorkers. "We hope," Greeley wrote, "never to live in a republic whereof one section is pinned to the residue by bayonets." Since secession was not a fact in November 1860, Greeley could afford to be philosophical, but his point of view was not unique.

New York, in Lossing's words, was "a decided commercial city."[10] It was no doubt inevitable that the businessmen of the city should become most active in the effort to achieve a peaceful compromise with the South. As early as December 18, 1860, a group of leading New York businessmen met to consider the crisis facing the nation.[11] This was no meeting of party regulars but a gathering of Democrats, Unionists, and Republicans acting in concert to arrive at concessions which would satisfy the South. Among the outstanding participants were William B. Astor, August Belmont, Hamilton Fish, and Moses H. Grinnell. Curiously enough, on the fateful December 20th, on which South

[10] Benjamin J. Lossing, *History of New York City* (New York: 1884), II, 713.
[11] Philip S. Foner, *Business and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: 1941), 237–38. (This excellent study details the activities of New York businessmen in their desire for peaceful compromise from 1850 to the outbreak of the Civil War.)

WILLIAM B. ASTOR



AUGUST BELMONT

Carolina seceded, President Buchanan had written to James Gordon Bennett, editor of *The New York Herald*, that, "if the merchants of New York would sit down calmly and ask themselves to what extent they would be injured by the withdrawal of three or four cotton States from the Union, they would come to the conclusion that although the evils would be very great, yet it would not destroy the commercial prosperity of our great Western Emporium."[12] But sitting down calmly was alien to the nature of men who were important to New York's commercial prosperity and the secession of South Carolina galvanized them into activity.

The New York businessmen were a vigorous group. "Commerce had made New York;—kept it up and will continue to increase it in wealth and population," wrote Walter Barrett.[13] And with a fervor which the Chamber itself must have admired, Barrett also wrote that, "the Chamber of Commerce of the City of New York ought to be respected throughout the world."[14] It was

[12] John Bassett Moore, ed., *The Works of James Buchanan* (Philadelphia: 1910), XI, 69–70.

[13] Walter Barrett, *The Old Merchants of New York City* (New York: 1862), I, 9.

[14] *Ibid.*, II, 327.

HAMILTON FISH

MOSES A. GRINNELL

automatic for the business community to seek some method of compromise with the South. The secession of South Carolina had produced intense exasperation among the merchants of New York but they rallied and, as the New Year began, increased their efforts to ease the national crisis by sending delegations to Washington to apply pressure in Congress for a peaceful settlement of differences.

Despite the activities of the businessmen, war seemed perilously near on January 9, 1861, when South Carolina batteries fired on the unarmed merchant ship sent from New York by the President to aid Major Anderson. In his Diary on January 14, 1861, George Templeton Strong, commenting on this incident, reported that the *Star of the West* returned with a "big scar-shot in her timbers" but "it's wise to postpone an actual hemorrhage as long as possible."[15] Strong firmly believed that "something would turn up," and he was not alone in this belief.

This kind of optimism persisted throughout January in spite of the secession of other Southern States.[16] Confidence was well illustrated in a lengthy petition of nearly forty thousand signatures which was presented to Congress on January 29, 1861, by a group of thirty leading businessmen of New York. This petition endorsed a plan already proposed in Congress by men from the border States which would require that no new territory be added to the Union without the consent of three-fourths of the Senate. In view of this, it is easy to concur with Martha Lamb's sober statement that "New York was in no humor for war."[17]

While politicians in Congress were variously absorbed in efforts to bridge the differences between North and South, politicians in New York were not idle. An unorthodox, although not

[15] Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas, eds., *The Diary of George Templeton Strong* (New York: 1952), III, 89.

[16] Some evidence of the eager search for a peaceful solution to the problem facing the nation may be deduced from the editorial of January 19, 1861, in the New York *Tribune* which discussed the possibility of the purchase and emancipation of slaves by Congress. The paper mentioned 240 millions dollars as the sum needed but argued that one year of war would cost as much or more.

[17] Martha J. Lamb, *History of the City of New York* (New York: 1877), II, 772.

an entirely new idea, came from Mayor Fernando Wood of New York on January 7, 1861, in his message to the Common Council.[18] The Mayor, then in his third term of office, was fully aware of Southern sympathy in New York and his contribution to the compromise sentiment in the city was the striking suggestion that New York become a "free city."

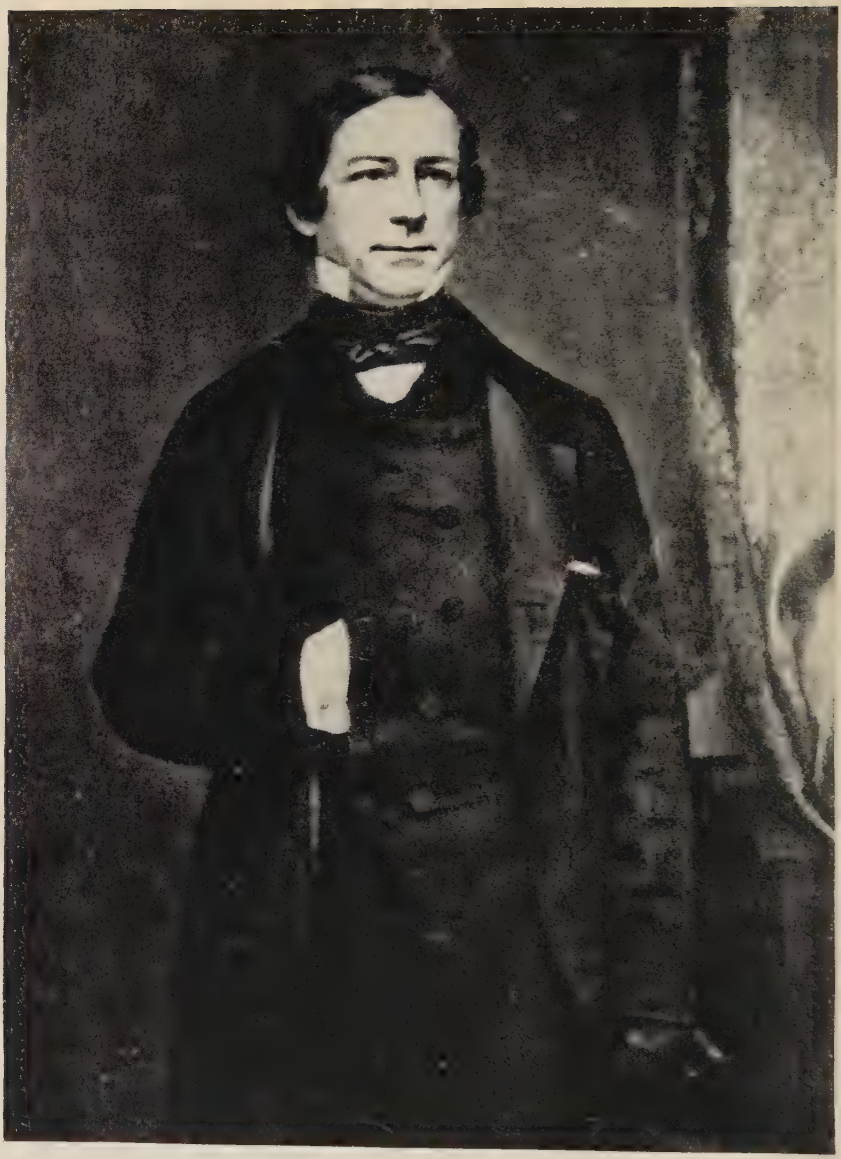
The Mayor began his message by calling attention to the monetary crisis which afflicted the trading and producing centers of New York City—a crisis which he feared presaged the dissolution of the Union should the separation of the States occur. Wood reflected the thinking of many others when he remarked that neither coercion nor force could hold the States together and as a result it behooved New York City to consider its position. Declaring that New York had only "friendly relations and a common sympathy with our aggrieved brethren of the Slave States," he went on to say that New York had not violated the rights of people in the other States—a situation which, he pointed out, did not apply to portions of New England or the rest of New York State.

Wood then proceeded to enumerate the ways in which the State had interfered with the self-government of the City. This theme, occupying the major portion of his address, gradually culminated in speculation concerning the advantages of a free city. The Mayor admitted that he did not know how the separation could be achieved without the consent of the State legislature, which was not likely to be forthcoming.

Nowhere in his entire speech did the Mayor specifically recommend separation. He had, in fact, hedged the idea with so many qualifications as to render it almost innocuous. Perhaps Wood was testing public opinion[19] since his suggestion, while reflecting the sentiments of some New Yorkers, did not reflect the sentiments of many others, including the members of the

[18] *Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen of the City of New York* (New York: 1861), LXXXI, 10–26.

[19] Samuel Augustus Pleasants, *Fernando Wood of New York* (New York: 1948), 112.



FERNANDO WOOD, MAYOR OF NEW YORK, 1859–1861

Photo by Mathew B. Brady, New York City

The New-York Historical Society

business community. The Mayor's idea, coming as it did in the midst of general uneasiness following the secession of South Carolina and with secession feelings running high in other States, could not but cause some concern in Washington.

The immediate reaction in New York City to the Mayor's speech was unimpressive. The New York newspapers, except for the *Day-Book* and the *Daily News* (which was owned by Wood's brother Benjamin), mocked the Mayor's suggestion. The pro-Lincoln papers were naturally condemnatory, but the Mayor's suggestion does give some indication of the degree of the distaste for embroilment in a conflict with the South which was characteristic of New York.

Whether New York City would attempt to secede,[20] whether efforts at peaceful compromise would continue, whether the people of New York would support the new Republican administration were questions which were rapidly becoming academic as Lincoln took office on March 4, 1861. Although Federal property had been confiscated by the Southern States which had seceded, Fort Sumter continued to be the focal point of the tension between the North and the South. Throughout March, while the Lincoln administration debated over the course of action to pursue concerning the garrison at Sumter, the spirit of compromise gradually subsided; it was as if the whole country were now waiting helplessly for the inevitable.

In New York, the pro-Lincoln *Times*, in a stirring editorial on April 3, 1861, called for decisive action: "the people want *something* to be decided on—some standard raised—some policy put forward, which will serve as a rallying point. . . ." Lincoln's determination to defend Union property and send supplies to Fort Sumter was praised by the New York *Evening Post* on April 10, 1861. On that same day, the *New York Journal of Commerce* deplored the war spirit "rising to feed the heat of the North." The *Herald*, in its editorial on April 11th, bitterly denounced the "suicidal programme" of those at the head of the government.

[20] It has been suggested that meetings were held at Mayor Wood's residence to consider the prospect of separation.—*Ibid.*, 115.

BATTERY PROMENADE, CHARLESTON, DURING BOMBARDMENT OF FORT SUMTER

From *Harper's Weekly*, May 18, 1861

"The prospect was never so dark, menacing and desolate as it is now." Efforts toward a peaceful compromise had, in fact, largely ended.

When news was received that a relief force, sent by Lincoln, was on its way to Sumter the Confederate Government accepted the challenge. At two o'clock in the afternoon of April 11, 1861, General Pierre Beauregard sent a formal demand to Major Anderson for the surrender of Fort Sumter. As a result of Anderson's refusal the first shot was hurled against the Fort at 4:30 on the morning of Friday, April 12, 1861. The "dark and menacing prospect" mentioned by the *Herald* was now lighted by flashes from the South Carolina batteries. Compromise had failed and the long war had begun.

The news from Sumter roused the North to enthusiastic support of the Union and New York was no exception. Abby Howland Woolsey reported to her sister Eliza at Fishkill that "The

sound of the newsboys crying till after midnight with hoarse voice 'Bombardment of Fort Sumter' was appalling."[21] On April 15th, George Templeton Strong wrote, "That damnable little hornet's nest of treason [Charleston] deserves to be shelled," adding that Charleston was a "political Sodom."[22]

Lincoln's proclamation of April 15th, calling forth the militia to the number of seventy-five thousand was promptly answered. Throughout New York City, as in the rest of the North, flags flew and great excitement prevailed. "The North is now a unit," editorialized the *Times* on April 15, 1861, and in New York City, "the spot most tainted by the Southern poison," there was now an intense and inspiring sentiment of patriotism. Echoing this feeling, the indefatigable diarist George Templeton Strong wrote on this date in praise of the "united North" where "everybody's patriotism is rampant and demonstrative now."

On April 18th, Major Anderson and his men arrived in New York harbor aboard the *Baltic*. Flying from the ship's masthead was the flag which had formerly flown over Sumter. Among the refugees from the Fort was Sergeant Peter Hart, a New Yorker, to whom had fallen the honor of nailing this famous flag to a hastily contrived pole when the flagstaff at Fort Sumter was knocked down by shells from the Confederate batteries.

On this bright sunny day, the reception given to the weary Anderson was tumultuous. In the afternoon he was saluted at the Brevoort House by the Fifth Regiment and a large crowd gathered for the occasion, cheering lustily when the Major appeared. At nine o'clock in the evening Anderson received a group of important New York merchants who called to do him honor. On April 22d the Board of Aldermen conferred the Freedom of the City on Major Anderson and directed that the Mayor present to him a gold box for which the Council appropriated $500.00.[23]

[21] Sylvia G. L. Dannett, comp. and ed., *Noble Women of the North* (New York: 1959), 31.
[22] *Diary*, III, 119.
[23] New York *Times*, April 19, 1861.

BREVOORT HOUSE, FIFTH AVENUE, 1870
Photo, The New-York Historical Society

On the same day, April 22d, on the recommendation of Mayor Wood, the Council voted a bond issue of $1,000,000 in support of the war. Not to be outdone by others, the Bar of the City voted $25,000 and a few days later the Chamber of Commerce collected approximately $119,000 to help the cause. New York, now that the war had begun, united quickly and solidly behind the Union.

The most dramatic demonstration of New York's support of the Federal Government, however, was the great demonstration held in Union Square on April 20, 1861. For those who may have interpreted New York's earlier efforts to achieve peaceful compromise with the South as evidence of a lack of devotion to the Union, this mighty gathering of over two hundred thousand people[24] provided stirring proof to the contrary.

[24] New York *Tribune*, April 22, 1861.

POLITICS, REFORM AND THE NEW YORK CITY ELECTION OF 1886

by Thomas J. Condon

Teaching Fellow in History and doctoral candidate, Harvard University

TO AN AGE accustomed, almost inured, to public corruption and classical machine politics, the caliber of the candidates in the New York City election of 1886 seemed the most significant element. And it was, indeed, unusual to see three reformers—Henry George, Abram S. Hewitt, and Theodore Roosevelt—pitted against each other in a mayoralty contest. But in retrospect the candidates, exceptional as they were, seem less important than the issues raised and the circumstances which surrounded this unusual election. The election in New York served as a sounding board for the problems which were disturbing the nation as a whole. The election gathered the problems of the day into the political arena and submitted them to one of the most spirited campaigns in New York history. The result was a crystallization and redefinition of ideas in three important areas: the play of politics, the meaning of reform, and the role of organized labor.

Prior to his nomination for mayor on an independent Labor ticket, Henry George had attacked the traditional party structure, decrying the difference between Republicans and Democrats as "merely a difference in name" because the "old issues on which the parties have confronted each other have passed away and party lines have not yet been drawn upon the vital questions of the time."[1] The rapid industrialization and urbanization of America after the Civil War had not been without its price in mounting labor and social problems. And it was true that these vital questions had largely been shrugged off or ignored—by a

[1] Interview with Henry George, New York *World*, Aug. 28, 1886.

nation more intent upon expanding its frontier and economy, and by politicians more interested in waving the bloody shirt and reaping political spoils. In the 1880s America paused to take stock and to come to grips with the dynamic changes which had taken place.

There was no lack of solutions for America's problems; rather a plethora of panaceas prevailed. Common to all was a desire to return to the society of the Founding Fathers—a society which, despite its romantic appeal, had never in fact existed. The view persisted that, if this or that evil could be eliminated or overcome, then society would again function well. For the prohibitionists, drinking and smoking were the evils which were "responsible for more than nine-tenths of the poverty, misery and crime which are so commonly attributed to low wages and the tyranny of capital."[2] For the importer, protection was the blight on society; for the manufacturer, free trade. The political reformer sought the substitution of blueblood or monied respectables for the political bosses, or else saw civil service reform as the cure-all. Still others saw the chief cause in the flood of immigrants, because "much of the immigration into this Country is entirely unsuited for absorption into the general mass of citizenship."[3] Greenbackers, moralists, socialists, and many others had their own simple curative. But none of these solutions had elicited any great interest from the politicians, the press, or the public.

A vitalizing shock came as these problems were brought into dramatic focus by the wave of social and labor unrest that swept the nation in the spring and summer of 1886. Throughout the nation labor strikes and boycotts were rampant—in all nearly 1,500, some accompanied by violence and bomb-throwing. The ones that received particular attention in the New York press were the railroad strikes in the Southwest, the boycottings in Connecticut and New England, and the Haymarket riot, which

[2] New York *Observer*, Aug. 5, 1886. The *Observer*, a weekly, was the leading national and evangelical newspaper.

[3] Abram S. Hewitt to Edward Grosse, Oct. 15, 1888, Abram S. Hewitt Papers (New-York Historical Society), Letterbook, 1888.

had followed on the heels of the strike at the McCormick Reaper Works in Chicago. Public opinion was aroused to a high pitch as editorial comment grew caustic in its denunciation of Labor, Socialism, Syndicalism, Anarchism, and immigrants—all generally lumped together to explain away the sudden unrest.[4]

New York City itself was the scene of much social and labor unrest during these months. Labor was fighting an uphill battle and losing. The boycott and picket line, which had been quite successful as a means of economic pressure on employers, began to run into vigorous opposition. In the spring of 1886 police began breaking up picket lines for alleged infractions of the penal code, chiefly disturbance of the peace. The right of peaceful assembly came to be strictly construed and in many cases denied to Labor meetings or mass rallies of workingmen on rather specious grounds. A street railway strike in May, broken up with police assistance, was particularly grating to organized labor, since the biggest scandal in recent New York history had involved the street railways. In April, all but two members of the Board of Aldermen under the reform administration of Mayor William R. Grace had been indicted for bribery in connection with the granting of a street railway franchise for lower Broadway. The trials of those who had not fled the country were conducted during the summer and received extensive coverage in the press.[5]

The final blow to Labor came with the sentencing of five boycotters to prison terms ranging from eighteen months to three years on July 2d, in connection with the Theiss case. A successful boycott had brought George Theiss, a brewery owner, to terms and, as part of the negotiated settlement, he agreed to pay the union $1,000 in costs. With the boycott ended, Theiss then brought suit that such payment was extortion—a view sustained by the courts. Judge George C. Barrett, in passing sentence on the five union leaders, added insult to injury by pointing

[4] New York *World*, New York *Times*, April–July, 1886; Allan Nevins, *Abram S. Hewitt with Some Account of Peter Cooper* (New York: 1935), 461; Peter A. Speek, *The Single Tax and the Labor Movement* (Madison, Wisc.: 1917), 306–11.

[5] New York *World*, New York *Times*, April–May, 1886.

out that: "Such Socialistic crimes as these are breaches of national hospitality. . . . Common gratitude should have prevented your outraging public opinion and bringing into force the actions and methods of a Socialistic character which you brought with you from abroad."[6] The Central Labor Union, which had supported its member union all along in the boycott action, called a mass meeting to protest such justice and a few days later resolved on independent political action in the coming mayoralty election.

The Central Labor Union had been created in 1882, developing out of a mass meeting of workingmen who had gathered to express their sympathy for the landlord reform movement in Ireland. Composed of representatives from individual trade unions, its purpose was to consider general labor problems and coordinate action. It had been instrumental in introducing the boycott as a successful weapon of New York labor. By 1886, 207 trade unions, with a membership of about 50,000 drawn from New York City, Brooklyn, and Jersey City, were represented in the Central Labor Union. Since its founding, the Central Labor Union had largely devoted its energies to industrial rather than political action. In the summer of 1882 candidates for Congress, the Assembly, and the Board of Aldermen had been nominated by the Central Labor Union but the canvass was a rather spiritless one. Many of the member unions had opposed the idea of political action and as a result the election had been just another poor showing for organized labor. But in 1886 conditions seemed ripe and the necessity for action imperative.[7]

On August 5th a committee appointed to investigate the feasibility of political action submitted its report to a full meeting of

[6] New York *Times*, July 3, 1886. The five sentenced were Michael Stroh, Paul Wilzig, Hans Holdorf, Adolph Rosenberg, and Max Dannhauser.

[7] Louis F. Post and Frederick C. Leubuscher, *An Account of the George-Hewitt Campaign in the New York Municipal Election of 1886* (New York: 1887), 1–2. Post was a long-time friend of George and devoted to the single-tax theory; a lawyer and journalist, he later became Assistant Secretary of Labor in the Wilson Administration. See also Howard L. Hurwitz, *Theodore Roosevelt and Labor in New York State, 1880–1900* (New York: 1943), 20–26; and Charles A. Barker, *Henry George* (New York: 1955), 455–61.

the Central Labor Union, composed of 402 members representing 165 labor organizations. The report proposed that:

> . . . wage workers, of whatever calling, whether connected with the Central Labor Union or not, shall be united in one grand political organization whose objects shall be the redemption of our city government from the hands of plunderers whose acts of spoliation have brought disgrace upon our city, and through whom the administration of justice has become a farce. . . .[8]

The report was approved by a vote of 362 to 40. Public opinion reacted favorably and the press with cautious approval to the prospect of Labor's participation in politics. "Our workingmen have shown that they are tolerably well organized in some directions. Whether it would be equally easy to press their organization along the line of city politics would be for them to decide."[9] The regular politicians were unconcerned, since the pathetic record of Labor in politics in New York and elsewhere was well known. But this calm atmosphere grew stormy as it became increasingly obvious that Henry George would be Labor's candidate for the forthcoming election.

Henry George, far from being a crank or anarchist, was the famous author and lecturer, well known in New York and Europe for the single-tax theory, which had been advanced in his popular work, *Progress and Poverty*, published in 1880.[10] This put the question of Labor's independent action in politics in quite a different light. Moreover, George, familiar with the past performances of Labor in politics, made his acceptance of the nomination contingent upon the receipt of 30,000 signed pledges to support him.[11] This astute move from one characterized as a

[8] The full text of the report is contained in Post and Leubuscher, *George-Hewitt Campaign*, 5.

[9] New York *World*, Aug. 23, 1886.

[10] Several biographies of George have been published, the most recent and the best being Barker's (*op. cit.*, 1955). See also Henry George, Jr., *The Life of Henry George* (New York: 1900); and the charming but less-useful account of George's daughter, Anna George de Mille, *Henry George* (Chapel Hill: 1950).

[11] Henry George to James P. Archibald, Secretary of the Central Labor Union's political action committee, Aug. 26, 1886, Henry George Papers (New York Public Library).

"mere theorist" gave the regular politicians cause for reflection, since Henry George could possibly win!

Their concern grew as the weeks passed and as it appeared likely that George would get his 30,000 signed pledges and perhaps many more. Reviewing the Labor Day parade with Mayor Grace on September 6th, George was enthusiastically greeted by the marchers with shouts and placards, indicating clearly that the campaign had already begun: "Vote for Henry George," "All Workingmen are Aroused for Independent Political Action," and "Down with the Tenement House System," among the many.[12]

On September 23d the formal nomination of Henry George as Labor's mayoralty candidate was made at Clarendon Hall. At this time the platform was presented and adopted by the convention. The platform called for home rule for New York City and enumerated specific reforms demanded by Labor: reform in the selection and property qualifications of grand and trial jurors, reforms to simplify court procedures, reforms to prevent intermeddling of the police with peaceful assemblage. It also called for safety and sanitary laws to be enforced through building inspections, a law to provide equal compensation without regard to sex in public employment, and a law for the direct employment of labor in public works rather than through the prevailing contractor system which favored graft. General statements urging the adoption of the land tax and public control of the transit system were also included.[13]

The Central Labor Union was not the only spokesman for Labor and the workingman. New York City had been the seed bed, if not the midwife, of proliferating labor organizations in the '70s and '80s. Besides the Central Labor Union, the most effective were the Knights of Labor, headed by Terence V. Powderly, the American Federation of Labor, under Samuel Gompers, and the Workingmen's Assembly of the State of New

[12] New York *World*, Sept. 7, 1886.
[13] Post and Leubuscher, *George-Hewitt Campaign*, 13–15.

HENRY GEORGE (1839–1897)

Labor candidate for Mayor of New York, 1886

Photo by Charles B. Schaidner at The New-York Historical Society

York. In 1886 the Knights of Labor had reached their highest point, with a national membership of over 700,000. In 1877 the Socialist Labor Party had been formed. There were also smaller groups of Communists and Anarchists, composed largely of foreigners and visiting exiles, that had appeal to some of the immigrant groups in New York, particularly Germans, Jews, and Eastern Europeans.[14]

A group of businessmen, professional men, and intellectuals, who may be termed the Chickering Hall group, formally endorsed George's candidacy at a mass meeting there on October 2d and appointed a committee to cooperate with the Central Labor Union in the campaign. The more prominent among these were Edward McGlynn, a controversial Roman Catholic priest; John W. Kramer and R. Heber Newton, Protestant clergymen; Professor David B. Scott of the College of the City of New York; and Daniel DeLeon, a Socialist and distinguished as being perhaps the only American to make a significant contribution to orthodox Marxist theory.[15]

There was certainly no solid labor party or labor line at this period. Numerous labor organizations, factions, and self-styled labor leaders claimed to represent the best interests of the workingmen. Sharp differences of opinion prevailed between groups and individuals on such questions as organization, political action, membership, on whether there should be separate trade unions or one big union, and on Labor objectives. Gompers, although disinclined toward political action, became convinced of George's success and wholeheartedly threw his own and the American Federation of Labor's support into the campaign.[16]

[14] Hurwitz, *Roosevelt and Labor*, 24; Terence V. Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor, 1859–1889* (Columbus, Ohio: 1889), 550–64; Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor* (New York: 1925), I, 264–88.

[15] New York *World*, New York *Tribune*, Oct. 3, 1886.

[16] Gompers, *Seventy Years*, I, 311–21. Gompers was unequivocal in his support of George. In one of his speeches he declared: "I have been working for organized labor for twenty-five years and have never declared myself a politician. Now I come out for George as a trade unionist and intend to support him with all my might." *Ibid.*, 316.

Powderly and the Knights of Labor did little actively to promote George's candidacy, although they both publicly endorsed him.[17] An interesting insight was provided by one observer who wrote George: "Unfortunately, the leaders of the Knights are all ambitious to 'sit in Parliament'; Free Trade is a party political subject, and the average ambitious Knight prefers his non-compromising platform of 'Labor Candidate' saying nothing of the trade question, so as to catch votes all around."[18] Michael Davitt, the Irish Land Leaguer, although in the country at the time, refused to endorse George's candidacy or exert his influence with the Irish vote.[19] George would gladly have done without some of the support he received, as in the case of Johann Most and the anarchists or Eleanor and Edward Aveling, daughter and son-in-law of Marx, who preached revolutionary Communism to crowds of New Yorkers and identified themselves with his candidacy.[20]

What of Henry George himself as a spokesman for Labor and the workingman? George had been a professional reformer most of his life and was convinced of the efficacy of his single-tax theory as a panacea for all the labor and social ills of society. Such ills were, according to George, basically the result of land policy and would disappear with the introduction of the single tax. There is considerable doubt as to whether he was campaigning on the platform of the Central Labor Union or simply using the campaign to popularize his single-tax theory. In his own mind, "The one thing sure is that if I do go in, the campaign will bring the land question into practical politics and do more to popularize its discussion than years of writing could do. This is the only temptation to me."[21] After he decided to accept the nomination he wrote to one of his single-tax disciples: "The great question

[17] Powderly, *Thirty Years*, 568 ff; Post and Leubuscher, *George-Hewitt Campaign*, 118–20. Powderly had been attacked in the newspapers for his lack of fervor in the campaign. He made only one speech in the campaign and that on election eve.

[18] J. M. Crerar to George, Oct. 18, 1886, George Papers (NYPL).

[19] Barker, *George*, 471–72; George, Jr., *George*, 217.

[20] New York *World*, Sept.–Oct., 1886.

[21] George to Dr. Edward R. Taylor, Sept. 10, 1886, George Papers (NYPL).

is at last in politics and the struggle has begun."[22] Added to this is the oft-quoted story of George's interview with William Ivins, Tammany Hall politician, who allegedly tried to dissuade George from running by telling him: "You cannot be elected but your running will raise hell." George replied, "You have relieved me of embarrassment. I do not want the responsibility and the work of the mayor of New York, but I do want to raise hell! I am decided and I will run."

George, being somewhat vain, enjoyed crowds and public speaking. His trips abroad in England and Ireland had been great personal successes and he had attracted much attention there for his theories.[23] Upon his return to the United States in 1885 he had taken to the lecture trail but met with much less success. In a letter to his wife in 1885, despairing of his small audiences, he said: "My policy in the future [will be] to have big audiences and to produce an effect. This trip is conclusive to my mind. I will try something else."[24] He meant it. In writing later to Louis Prang about a proposed lecture tour in Boston, he admitted to having "no objection to any sort of demonstration, as I am not easily flustered. But to help the cause it ought to be a pretty good one."[25] This, perhaps more than political astuteness, explains his demand for 30,000 signed pledges. George began to consider the possibility of taking the single tax into politics. He declined repeated offers to lecture and write in Britain because as he said, "We are making steady progress here, and before long I think the time for bringing the question into practical politics will come."[26] It had been while George was in this frame of mind that the Central Labor Union began casting about for a candidate. From his first mention there seemed little doubt but that George would accept.

Thus the Labor candidacy had far less unity than appeared on

[22] George to C.D.F. Gütschow, Oct. 8, 1886, George Papers (NYPL).
[23] Barker, *George*, 352 ff.
[24] George to Mrs. George, April 3, 4, 1885, cited in Barker, *George*, 443–44.
[25] George to Louis Prang, Feb. 9, 1886, George Papers (NYPL).
[26] George to Richard McGhee, June 4, 1886, George Papers (NYPL).

JOSEPH KEPPLER'S COMMENT ON THE GEORGE CANDIDACY

In *Puck* (New York), November 3, 1886, pp. 156–57

the surface. George was running mainly to popularize his single-tax theory and openly admitted there was no chance of putting it into effect if he were elected. The Central Labor Union, on the other hand, sought redress of specific grievances, especially those that related to the application of the penal code. The Chickering Hall group were largely single-taxers. Others were going along with George because he would better represent their interests than would the traditional parties. And there were the opportunists, who sought to attach themselves to the Labor movement. James J. Coogan for one, a wealthy employer who very much wanted Labor's nomination for mayor then and later, was singled out by the *World:* ". . . the reception awarded the name of Mr. J. J. Coogan at this meeting, by which his letter, promising to furnish the sinews of war and dealing out taffy in tremendous doses, was laid upon the table without consideration, was so emphatic as to convince the tricksters and wire pullers who are already seeking to connect themselves with and to identify themselves with this movement, that the rank and file of the party

won't have them. . . ."[27] Another dissident element was added when a dissatisfied Democratic faction, the Irving Hall Democracy, later endorsed the George candidacy.[28] Despite all of this, George was obviously the best candidate if Labor was to make any kind of showing in the election. The Central Labor Union would get nowhere with a candidate from its own ranks, whereas George had a large following and would command the respect of the voters.[29] And although the Union initiated the labor party movement, it was largely taken over by others as George's candidacy gathered momentum.

Finally on October 5th, before an overflowing crowd at Cooper Union, Henry George formally accepted the nomination offered to him on behalf of the Central Labor Union and the Chickering Hall group. At this time he was presented with 34,640 signed pledges to support his candidacy. The campaign was officially under way and the politicians, especially Democrats, were worried.[30]

Well they might be, for Henry George's candidacy represented a real threat to the prevailing pattern of politics in New York. In the days of Boss Tweed and Boss Conkling, the Democrats had been in solid control of city politics, while the Republicans dominated State and national elections. After the forced retirement of Tweed in 1871, both major parties were beset by a series of internal stresses and strains, of reform and counter-reform movements. Democrats were hardest hit. Tammany Hall, the County Democracy, and Irving Hall battled to dominate New York City politics, while Daniel Manning and Samuel Tilden contended for control of the Democratic vote throughout the State. Republicans were divided between a Boss Platt faction and many smaller factions whose only common element was opposition to Platt. As a result the old pattern of politics broke

[27] New York *World*, Sept. 5, 1886.

[28] *Ibid.*, Oct. 20, 1886.

[29] Coogan received the nomination of Labor in the election of 1888 and made an extremely poor showing in the canvass.

[30] Post and Leubuscher, *George-Hewitt Campaign*, 17–25; New York *World*, Sept. 6, 1886.

down and a new one emerged in which both parties were more evenly balanced in State and national elections. In New York City the Democrats still retained control but the Republicans now received a share of the spoils.[31]

Sufficient attention has not been given to the significant change which occurred in New York politics after 1871. Historians continue to treat the period in terms of classical machine politics, in terms of stereotype boss politics of which Tweed and Conkling were perhaps the best but last representatives.[32] In Tammany Hall after 1871 the emphasis shifted from spoils to rigid party discipline. John Kelly, nominal successor to Tweed, represented a new type of boss in politics. Although he held a tight rein on Tammany no one seriously protested his appellation "Honest John." As the reformers became better organized they, too, created a machine, the County Democracy, which rivaled Tammany in its emphasis on party loyalty and party discipline. Public corruption continued to some extent but it could be found under the administrations of either faction. Leadership of both organizations rested with a group rather than with one strong individual. Thus a sharp distinction between a corrupt Tammany Hall and an uncorrupt group of reformers became unwarranted by the facts. Indeed, there were instances of cooperation between the leadership of both groups.[33]

[31] Editorial writer Howard summed this up well: "Is it not a fact that the local leadership of the [Republican] organization which for a quarter of a century controlled national affairs is in the hands of men to whom bargains and deals are as natural as thieving to a monkey? Does not experience show that he [a Republican candidate] would be traded off in this district for a member of the assembly, in that ward for an alderman, and elsewhere for a state senator?" New York *World,* Sept. 5, 1886.

[32] This can be observed in Gustavus Myers, *The History of Tammany Hall* (New York: 1901), 299–319, and in the biographies of Bourke Cockran, Hewitt, and Whitney; see for instance, Nevins, *Hewitt,* 433 ff; James McGurrin, *Bourke Cockran* (New York: 1948), 155 ff; and Mark D. Hirsch, *William C. Whitney: Modern Warwick* (New York: 1948), 78–83.

[33] Many writers, notably Nevins and Hirsch, fail to recognize any difference between politicians or bosses of the type of Kelly and W. Bourke Cockran on the one hand and the stereotyped boss best represented by Tweed on the other. Part of this stems from a determination not to treat Tilden, Whitney, Cleveland, Hewitt, and other "reformers" as politicians but rather as being above politics. This leads to serious difficulties in explaining the shifting relations of these men to Tammany Hall.

The key figures instrumental in the overthrow of Boss Tweed had been Edward Cooper, son of Peter Cooper, New York's beloved philanthropist and one-time presidential candidate on the Greenback ticket; Abram S. Hewitt, son-in-law of Peter Cooper and a wealthy iron industrialist; William C. Whitney, brilliant corporation lawyer, descendant of an old-line Massachusetts family and later Secretary of the Navy under Cleveland; Samuel Tilden, presidential candidate in 1876 and a reformer who sometimes embarrassed other reformers; and John Kelly, later Tammany boss. With the exception of Kelly, the activities of these men in reform movements, splinter movements, personal political ambitions, and shifting relations with Tammany represent a chronicle of the change in politics after 1871. While publicly fighting Tammany Hall and waving the banner of reform, all were astute politicians who dominated Democratic politics by shifting in and out of Tammany. Tilden and Hewitt were Tammany Sachems in 1872; in 1874 Tilden was elected governor and Hewitt Congressman on a Tammany ticket. In 1876 Whitney was appointed Corporation Counsel in New York City on the urging of John Kelly and over the opposition of Tilden. The difference between Tammany and the reformers was more a question of who would dominate New York politics and less a question of genuine reform.[30]

A major split occurred in 1881 when a group of bolters, led by

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In the view of Henry Adams: "Hay belonged to the New York school, like Abram Hewitt, Evarts, W. C. Whitney, Samuel J. Tilden—men who played the game for ambition or amusement, and played it, as a rule, much better than the professionals, but whose aims were considerably larger than those of the usual player, and who felt no great love for the cheap drudgery of the work." Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (Boston: 1927), 373.

[31] An excellent but uncritical account of the splintering within the Democrats and the activities of the reformers can be found in Hirsch, *Whitney*, 58–152. In Hirsch's view, "Whitney was one of the young lawyers among the reformers and he lent his energies to help fight the Tweed Ring. He had not joined Tammany because he was too honest. He did not care to join the Republicans, since he was a confirmed Democrat and his father and father-in-law were party leaders in Massachusetts and Ohio. Reform affiliations seemed to offer the only course to him." But this overlooks the skill of Whitney as a politician and shows a complete misunderstanding of the nature of reform politics. *Ibid.*, 55.

Cooper, Hewitt, and Whitney, formed the County Democracy in opposition to Kelly and Tammany Hall. In 1882 both factions supported Cleveland for Governor, but the County Democracy had led the way by uniting with the upstate Democrats under the firm control of Daniel Manning. Kelly and Tammany suffered loss of prestige and patronage under Cleveland during his term as Governor and tried hard to block his nomination for the presidency in 1884. But the Cleveland forces under Manning and Whitney carried the day. Kelly supported the national ticket although both Tammany and the County Democracy ran separate candidates in the city election. Cleveland carried New York State by less than 1,200 votes while William R. Grace, on the County Democracy ticket, won his second term as Mayor by a margin of 11,000 votes over Tammany's candidate, Hugh J. Grant.[35]

By 1886, then, two powerful Democratic machines existed in New York City. A third machine, Irving Hall, also existed but had declined in importance after 1881. Bitter feeling remained between the two major factions. Tammany received scant patronage from either Cleveland or Grace after their elections. But the Tammany Tiger had always been renowned for its recuperative power when least expected to survive. With the County Democracy leaders preoccupied with national politics (Manning and Whitney were in the Cabinet and Hewitt in Congress), Kelly and Tammany were preparing for the forthcoming mayoralty contest to recoup their losses. Tammany's hopes were dashed by the unexpected death of Kelly on June 1, 1886.[36] Shortly after, on July 26th, Hubert O. Thompson, the boss of the County Democracy in the absence of Hewitt and Whitney, died.[37] And on August 4th, death came to an aged and disgruntled reformer, Samuel Tilden.[38]

[35] Allan Nevins, *Grover Cleveland: A Study of Courage* (New York: 1933), 187–188.
[36] New York *World*, June 2, 1886.
[37] *Ibid.*, July 27, 1886.
[38] *Ibid.*, Aug. 5, 1886.

The deaths of key Democratic leaders and the absence of others had but slight effect on party fortunes compared with the sudden appearance of Henry George in the New York political arena. George could be expected to draw heavy support from the Democratic ranks, since the Democrats drew their heaviest support from the workingmen. With two Democratic candidates in the race, one from the County Democracy and one from Tammany Hall, this could mean a victory for George or the Republicans. A victory for George would upset the political balance in New York City and wreak havoc with the distribution of patronage.[39] But a victory for the Republicans would be an even greater blow. Carrying New York was essential for a presidential victory. The margin of victory for Cleveland in 1884 had been extremely thin; with a Republican mayor in control of New York City patronage, the chances for a Democratic win in 1888 would be ruined. What had appeared a few months earlier as a political impossibility now became a political necessity: a united candidate for the Democratic nomination at whatever cost. The deaths of Tilden, Thompson, and especially Kelly actually made this an easier task.

The simple and appealing logic involved in the necessity of a unity candidate spread rapidly in September as the Democrats scanned the lists for a likely candidate. Within the party some felt that the two factions would never agree but ". . . keep on fooling until we get a Republican mayor, and that may mean a Republican President in 1888."[40] The choice was difficult and involved more than mere agreement by the two factions on *any* candidate. He had to be respectable, a reformer, and able to win. The newspapers had been agitating for a businessman or someone unconnected with politics, who would bring efficiency and reform to public office. The Democratic *World* passed along "gossip to the

[39] This was quite a serious consideration, for the mayor-elect would have an enormous amount of patronage in his hands, since eleven major appointments to commissions would be made: two dock, two park, two police, a charities and corrections, a fire, health, tax, and street cleaning commissioner. *Ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1886.

[40] Interview with Thomas F. Gilroy, prominent Tammany politician, *ibid.*, Sept. 25, 1886.

effect that the election of a practical, sagacious, successful businessman, even though he be a Republican, as mayor of the city of New York would be a great blessing to the city."[41] And there was talk of the Republicans running Lloyd Aspinwall or Cornelius Vanderbilt, both eminently respectable and also millionaires.

Many names were mentioned for the Democratic nomination —Whitney, Mayor Grace, Philip Dugro, and many others. But attention lingered longest on Edward Cooper, who did not return from Europe until October 3d.[42] Tammany raised loud objections to both Cooper and Grace. Tammany Hall surprised New York on October 11th by nominating its most frequent bolter, Abram S. Hewitt. While New York may have been surprised, Hewitt could hardly have experienced the same emotion.[43] The concern of the State and national leaders for the nomination of a unity candidate was apparent on October 6th as Governor David B. Hill, Manning, and Cleveland's private secretary, Daniel Lamont, converged on New York City.[44] Hewitt was in touch with these officials as well as with Tammany Boss Richard Croker, who had succeeded Kelly. On October 8th the *World* noted that, "The statement is made that Mr. Croker told Mr. Hewitt yesterday that Tammany Hall would not accept Mr. Cooper if he was proposed by the County Democracy."[45] The following day Hewitt told a reporter that he would run again for Congress if nominated but preferred to withdraw.[46] Finally

[41] *Ibid.*, Aug. 26, 1886.

[42] *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1886.

[43] Nevins accepts Hewitt's reluctance and surprise at face value, which hardly seems credible in view of the circumstances. Nevins, *Hewitt*, 460–61.

[44] New York *World*, Oct. 6, 1886. Cleveland lost a ten-dollar bet with Whitney on the election. Hirsch, *Whitney*, 309.

[45] New York *World*, Oct. 8, 1886.

[46] Hewitt was dissatisfied with Democratic inactivity in Congress on tariff reform. As an importer, Hewitt was keenly interested in a sharp reduction of the tariff, especially in raw materials. In May he toyed with the idea of retiring in view of the stalemate on the tariff but qualified it by saying: "I should not quit public life because it is not congenial if I felt I was able to perform the duties and to accomplish any useful results." Hewitt to Silas W. Burt, May 12, 1886, Silas W. Burt Papers (New-York Historical Society). His letters to Representative Springer of Illinois (cited by Nevins, *Hewitt*, 459–60) did not rule out the possibility of continuing:

on October 11th when informed of his nomination for mayor by a reporter he said, ". . . it is such an astounding piece of information that I cannot help thinking there must be some mistake about it." He then quickly added by way of inquiry: "Well it is very surprising, but how was it done? Was it done with a hurrah?"[47]

It was done with one of the greatest hurrahs ever in the wigwam and seconded by the silver-tongued oratory of Tammany's finest, Bourke Cockran.[48] It was an astute move on the part of the Democrats. To the press and a large segment of the public, Hewitt was eminently respectable, wealthy, and a reformer; to political leaders, he was a consummate politician who, while waving the banner of reform for years, had never severed his ties completely with Tammany.[49] Hewitt was also a wealthy employer who had never antagonized organized labor. For ten years he had served in Congress, endorsed by Tammany Hall and the reformers. With the death of Kelly, Croker had nominally taken over the reins of Tammany. But at this time he was by no means the boss of Tammany that he later became. Moreover, Whitney, Hewitt, and Croker were close friends, which considerably narrowed the gap between the leadership of the County Democracy and Tammany.[50] Clearly, Hewitt's nomination by

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"If I thought that there would be any better chance in the next Congress to secure action than there has been in the present, I would not decline reelection, although the state of my health admonishes me to avoid mental labor." He added, however: "But I see no prospect of any better position." Hewitt to William M. Springer, Oct. 4, 1886, Hewitt Papers (NYHS).

[47] New York *World*, Oct. 12, 1886.

[48] Cockran, born in Ireland, was one of the most colorful politicians in New York history. He has received rather shabby treatment in conventional accounts of New York politics. Actually he was a well-educated, able, and distinguished lawyer with a wide circle of prominent friends, including Henry Adams and Winston Churchill. In 1887 Elihu Root advised him: "For God's sake Bourke, stick to the law and give up politics. If you do, I predict that in less than ten years you will be recognized as the greatest lawyer in America." McGurrin, *Cockran*, 93.

[49] New York *World*, Oct. 12, 1886. In an interview, Hewitt stated: "We are all Democrats, you know, although some of us may belong to one organization and some to another. I know that I have always paid the assessments to both organizations with exemplary promptitude."

[50] In 1874 Croker had become involved in a brawl with State Senator James

RICHARD CROKER, TAMMANY BOSS, AND BOURKE COCKRAN

From *Harper's Weekly*, July 13, 1889, p. 553

Tammany was no accident but rather a well-planned "deal." The Congressional nominations were later evenly divided between Tammany and the County Democracy.[51] In the terminology of the times Hewitt was above politics, a citizen reluctantly performing his duty; or if it was conceded that he was a politician, then he was a politician of the "better sort." The nomination by Tammany was thus a master stroke, for it appeared as an involuntary draft of Hewitt for non-political reasons. Yet Hewitt was enough of a realist in politics to know the importance of winning

O'Brien, who had just been defeated by Hewitt in the Congressional election. Croker was charged with murder but later freed because of a hung jury. Both Whitney and Hewitt, with Kelly, were involved in providing for his legal defense. Early accounts claimed that Whitney was one of Croker's counsel in the trial but Whitney's biographer denies this, without, however, any confirmatory citation. Hirsch, *Whitney*, 83; Nevins, *Hewitt*, 295–97.

[51] New York *World*, Oct. 20, 1886. The mutual endorsements were for Tammany in the Ninth, Tenth, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Districts and for the County Democracy in the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Eleventh Districts. Cockran was nominated in the Twelfth and remarked that ". . . as a union of the party has been brought about it promised to place New York City as the great Democratic capital, which guaranteed success in 1888."

the New York City election to the national political picture. The County Democracy formally endorsed Hewitt's candidacy three days later, as did the Business Men's Municipal Association. His nomination was enthusiastically greeted by the newspapers of the day.

While the County Democracy claimed to be staggered by the nomination, the Republicans were clearly outmaneuvered by this unexpected move on the part of Tammany. A likely Republican candidate in August had been Lloyd Aspinwall but he died September 10th. After that a number of names had been proposed, chiefly Levi P. Morton, millionaire former ambassador to France under President Arthur, and Elihu Root, a young corporation lawyer with great political promise. The Republican Party did not have a large following in New York City at this time and generally found it more expedient to make deals with the Democrats than to run a strong candidate themselves.[52] But Republican hopes had been raised by the George candidacy and the strong possibility of two Democratic candidates, in view of the apparent hopeless division in Democratic ranks. Such hopes were dashed by the nomination of Hewitt. After this both Root and Morton disclaimed any interest in the nomination.

It was actually more advantageous for the Republicans to run a candidate, though, than to support Hewitt, as some urged. The nomination of a candidate would assure a better bargaining position, and the remote possibility of eking out a victory amid the confusion lingered. A reform candidate was a necessity in view of the opposition. An unlikely candidate received the nomination—twenty-seven-year-old Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt had served in the New York Assembly from 1882 to 1884 where he had attracted some attention by his youth and his reform energies. Of course it was not difficult then for an aggressive young man, well connected, to attract attention in the Albany Assembly. After his first wife's death in 1884 he moved out west to his ranch in the Bad Lands and devoted most of his time to

[52] See note 31 above.

writing articles and histories.[53] But Roosevelt was becoming bored with such a life and wanted to return east, confiding to his friend Henry Cabot Lodge that he desired "a chance at something I thought I could really do; at present I see nothing whatever ahead."[54] Earlier he had written Lodge in the same vein: ". . . as my chance of doing anything in the future worth doing seems to grow continually smaller I intend to grasp at every opportunity that turns up."[55]

Roosevelt was nominated by the Republican convention on October 15th, the day after he had received the nomination from the Citizen's Committee of One Hundred. The convention was described as "a representative gathering, but what is known as the better element predominated."[56] The chairman of the convention had been Elihu Root and Roosevelt's name was placed in nomination by Chauncey Depew. Cries of "straw candidate" and "deal" were immediately raised, with the partisan *World* reporting that, "The idea prevailed in political circles last evening that the Republicans had nominated Roosevelt with a view of selling him out for votes from the George men for the balance of their ticket."[57] Roosevelt recognized that there was little, if any, chance of winning and that if there had been, he would probably not have received the nomination.[58]

While entertaining no illusions about victory, Roosevelt accepted the nomination because it was placed "on the score of ab-

[53] Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt: The Formative Years, 1858–1886* (New York: 1958), I, 320 ff; Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: 1931), 85 ff; and Theodore Roosevelt, *An Autobiography* (New York: 1925), 121 ff. Slight mention is made of the election by either Roosevelt or Pringle; only Volume I of Putnam's work has been published to date, covering only the period through the summer of 1886.

[54] Roosevelt to Lodge, Aug. 20, 1886, in Elting E. Morison (ed.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1951–1954), I, 109.

[55] Roosevelt to Lodge, Aug. 10, 1886, *ibid.*, 158.

[56] New York *World*, Oct. 16, 1886.

[57] *Ibid.*

[58] Roosevelt to Mrs. James Russell Parsons, Oct. 21, 1886, Theodore Roosevelt Association Collection (Harvard College Library). Concerning the "straw" nature of his candidacy, Roosevelt complained bitterly to Lodge, "The men who for years have howled for the Republicans to give them a decent ticket now when they have one, knife it in a body." Roosevelt to Lodge, Oct. 20, 1886, Morison (ed.), *Roosevelt Letters*, I, 112–113.

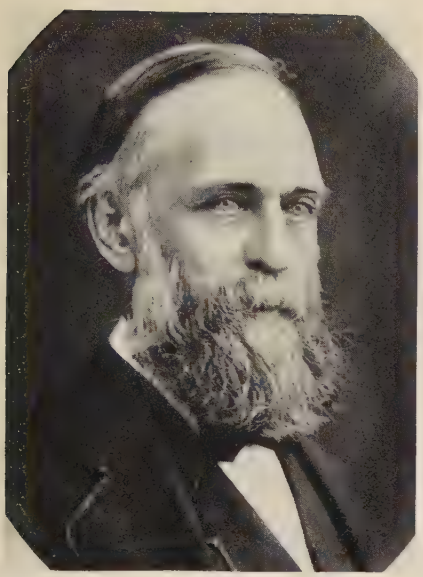
solute duty to the party" and because he felt that he would have "a better party standing than ever before, and my position there is assured."[59] Roosevelt had stressed party loyalty before, much to the distress of his Mugwump friends, when he supported Blaine in the election of 1884, after doing all in his power to prevent Blaine's nomination. He could hardly damage his reputation by running for mayor of New York at the age of twenty-seven; he could and did get some good publicity out of it.[60] Neither George nor Hewitt took his candidacy very seriously, though both thought he would have a bright future in politics. Hewitt and Roosevelt formally accepted their nominations on October 16th and the list of major entrants was now complete.

By present standards the campaign was relatively short, since little more than two weeks remained until election day. George departed from the fashion of the day by conducting a whirlwind personal canvass.[61] Louis Post has estimated that, in all, George delivered over a hundred speeches. Hewitt chose the more conventional mode of campaigning and made few speeches or appearances. Roosevelt made many speeches and far more of a stir than his party anticipated. But the speeches were largely to members of his own assembly district, business clubs, or the Union League. Roosevelt did not throw himself into a grassroots canvass in competition with George. Reflecting on his three campaigns for the Assembly, Roosevelt had written to his sister that

[59] "There is no chance of success . . . the best I can hope for is to make a decent run; and the chances are even that my defeat will be overwhelming to a degree." Roosevelt to Mrs. Parsons, Oct. 21, 1886, Roosevelt Collection (Harvard).

[60] Few Republicans cared to risk their political future by running against Hewitt. As a result the price of the "honor" was probably not prohibitive. Eight years later when Republican hopes were stronger, Roosevelt declined the nomination, confiding to Lodge, "We have a fair chance of carrying our Mayor, unless the Democrats unite on a strong man. When we meet I'll tell you my own experience in the mayoralty matter; I simply had not the funds to run." Henry Cabot Lodge (ed.), *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884-1918* (New York: 1825), I, 136.

[61] This was quite an innovation at the time; and there were considerable reservations on the propriety of this technique. In replying to Louis Prang, George argued, "While it was perfectly proper for Grant to make no campaign speeches, that is the very thing I must do, and I look forward to a month of speaking every night." George to Prang, Sept. 27, 1886, George Papers (NYPL).



ABRAM S. HEWITT (1822–1903)
Photo by W. Kurtz, *c.* 1886
The New-York Historical Society

THEODORE ROOSEVELT (1858–1919)
Color lithograph, *c.* 1886
The New-York Historical Society

"a barroom canvass is, for a gentleman, especially ineffective; the loafers and vagabonds will take anyone's money or drink with him, but will vote against him just the same."[62]

Under a charter which afforded little home rule, the power of the mayor's office was rather circumscribed. It consisted mainly of the power of appointments. Major innovations in the machinery of municipal administration required legislative enactment in Albany. Efficient administration was hampered because commissioners were not directly responsible to the mayor and could only be removed from office with the approval of the governor. Under such a system public morality depended pretty much on private morality. This was the essence of the argument for reform by respectables. It was also the cause of disillusionment as the reform movement progressed. When administrations

[62] Roosevelt to Mrs. Douglas Robinson, April 5, 1886, Roosevelt Collection (Harvard).

had been established by respectables in the past, little difference could be discerned—the reform administration of the incumbent Mayor Grace was a case in point.

The anomaly of the campaign was that with three reformers as candidates, reform could not be an issue. The integrity and honesty of the candidates was above reproach and readily conceded on all sides. As Henry George saw it, "The discussion must turn on something more than questions of individual character or the claims of organizations held together only by the cohesive power of public plunder."[63] This was at once an attack on the regular politicians and the reform politicians. Thus the main issue of the campaign became an examination of the existing machinery of government and politics. Both Hewitt and Roosevelt hewed to the reform line that the prevailing system was sound if run by respectables or politicians of the better sort. George rejected both the system and attempts to reform it. Closely related to the main issue was the question of how the emerging power of Labor could be accommodated in politics; whether it would find expression in the traditional parties or seek expression in a new third party.

The tactics of the campaign centered around these two issues and reflected as well the motivations of the candidates in entering the contest. George wanted to popularize the single-tax theory and did so by a dynamic campaign of mass meetings, an extensive personal canvass, and by the establishment of a campaign newspaper, *The Leader*, edited by single-taxer Louis Post. Although Hewitt declined public debate with him, George was able to popularize the single tax through an exchange of letters with Hewitt, which were published in the newspapers and followed with great interest.[64] In his speeches to the workingmen George discussed the single tax and emphasized that his candidacy represented the beginning of a new movement and a new party which would sweep the country. The specific reforms

[63] Interview, New York *World*, Sept. 26, 1886.

[64] The text of the correspondence is reprinted in Post and Leubuscher, *George-Hewitt Campaign*, 45–71.

demanded by the Central Labor Union were seldom even referred to by George. He regarded such questions as irrelevant compared to the creation of a new party and the education of the people in the single-tax theory.[65]

For Hewitt, as the representative of Democratic reform and machine politicians, there was no necessity for a personal canvass since ward politicians could accomplish most of the campaign work. In his few speeches and in the correspondence with George, Hewitt defended the system of reform by respectables and attacked the formation of an independent Labor party. This was imperative in view of the national elections in 1888. Hewitt accomplished this by castigating George's ideas and candidacy as Socialistic, Communistic, Anarchistic, and an attack on private property. George's candidacy of course was no such thing. Hewitt's approach was designed to appeal to businessmen, Republicans, and Independents. An extension of this was the treatment of Roosevelt as a nice young man but hardly a serious contender.[66] The Democrats hammered away on the theme that a vote for Roosevelt would be a vote for George and that Republicans would do better voting for Hewitt under the circumstances.

The Democratic press attacked George for his lack of experience in administration. The *World* noted: "Mr. George means well. Mr. Hewitt not only means well but does well. It will not take intelligent workingmen long to decide which will make the better practical chief executive officer of the business concerns of this great city.[67] Both the press and Hewitt devoted

[65] When asked about the saloon evil, George replied, "I don't think that is pertinent to the questions I am here to answer;" when asked about "the rotten machinery we have had in this city in the past thirty years" George answered, "That is not pertinent either, but I am free to say I will do the best I can"; on the slum problem, "That is hardly pertinent, nevertheless I will say what I have said before, that I will do all I can." *Ibid.*, 84–88.

[66] Roosevelt to Charles P. Miller, Oct. 25, 1886, Roosevelt Collection (Harvard): "Mr. Hewitt's people are working the Henry George scare for all it is worth, simply to frighten the weak-kneed and timid Republicans and Independents."

[67] New York *World*, Oct. 13, 1886. "Mr. George represents the propaganda of Socialistic ideas. Mr. Hewitt represents the policy of a business administration of a business office for public ends."

considerable time stressing that the Democratic Party had been and was the champion of the workingman. The tone for this had been set by Tammany in the nominating address to Hewitt: "A large number of the most useful and valuable elements of this community have combined for the purpose of electing a candidate for Mayor who has not been named by a convention composed of delegates representing any distinct political opinions but by a body claiming to represent certain trades and occupations. We believe that government by trade unions would be as reprehensible and objectionable as government by bank presidents."[68] This theme was reiterated by Hewitt throughout his speeches and letters and taken up by Democratic ward politicians.

Republican tactics reflected the opportunism of Roosevelt's candidacy. The system of machine politics was defended but reform would be introduced by the substitution of Republicans for Democrats. Roosevelt tried to capitalize on the George scare by turning the arguments of the Democrats around: ". . . if Mr. George's vote really threatens to be large then the only possible candidate with whom to beat him is myself."[69] The main line of the Republican attack was that "the peculiar work of reform can hardly be performed by a Democrat. He could not use the pruning knife without cutting into the organizations that elected him. It needs a member of the opposite party to clean out the barnacles and cut off the sinecures."[70] The *World* retaliated with rhetoric in kind: ". . . although herding on the ranch of reform [Roosevelt] is branded as the property of the machine."[71]

During the last few days of the campaign personal attacks on George by politicians and the press mounted sharply. In addition members of the Catholic clergy exerted their influence with workingmen against George's election. Father McGlynn, staunch supporter of George and the single tax, had been silenced in the campaign by Archbishop Corrigan. Tammany politician Joseph J. O'Donohue solicited a statement from Monsignor

[68] Address to Hewitt, *ibid.*, Oct. 14, 1886.
[69] Roosevelt to Charles P. Miller, Oct. 25, 1886, Roosevelt Collection (Harvard).
[70] Interview with Roosevelt, New York *World*, Oct. 19, 1886.
[71] *Ibid.*

CARTOON COMMENT ON HEWITT'S VICTORY OVER ROOSEVELT

From cover of *Puck* (New York), November 10, 1886

Thomas S. Preston of the New York Archdiocese that the majority of the clergy were opposed to George. Extracts from this confidential letter were reproduced and distributed in front of Catholic churches the Sunday before election in an attempt to

identify Preston's position with an official Church stand. Undoubtedly this had considerable effect among Catholic voters.[72]

Labor climaxed its vigorous campaign by a parade in honor of George the Saturday before election day. Despite a heavy rain, over thirty thousand marched in review. A final speech was given by George on election eve at a mass meeting in Cooper Union. Whatever the outcome, George told his audience, the election results would be a victory for Labor, since the campaign was only the beginning of a movement which would rapidly spread.

When the results came in on election night, November 2d, Hewitt had won. The official statistics gave Hewitt 90,552, George 68,110, and Roosevelt 60,435.[73] The result of Labor's canvass was impressive, falling only 22,000 short of victory yet running 8,000 ahead of a regular party candidate. The voting was unusually heavy for a municipal election, 219,097, attesting to the great interest which the campaign had aroused. The total registration for the election had been 235,696.

One element remains in any discussion of the election of 1886: Was Henry George counted out? Some Labor Party apologists, assuming a greater degree of labor unity than the evidence warranted, made such post-mortem charges. But on election night George claimed rather that his defeat was because "of the money, of the bribery, of the intimidation, of a press perverted and unscrupulous, of the unreasoning fears of the ignorant rich, and the hopeless degradation of the miserable poor."[74] The last three reasons were probably the weightiest but have nothing to do with fraudulent election returns and were not mentioned in later recollections by George and those associated with him in the campaign. Moreover the supporters of George were well aware that he might be counted out and had taken measures to check this.

[72] Post and Leubuscher, *George-Hewitt Campaign*, 128–49.

[73] New York *World*, Nov. 3, 1886; Post and Leubuscher, *George-Hewitt Campaign*, 156–68.

[74] *Ibid.*, 169. Barker in his biography of George (p. 481), thinks that "the big cheat could have occurred and probably did." Nevins' view is that, though some fraud was committed, there could not have been enough to produce a plurality of 22,000 votes. Nevins, *Hewitt*, 527.

A committee of lawyers was organized under Louis Post to supervise balloting and counting. Certainly sufficient funds were on hand to obtain such important items as printed ballots.

George made two appraisals of the vote prior to the official tabulation. After Hewitt's nomination George mentioned 60,000; on election night he felt "... my vote will hardly fall under seventy thousand."[75] The most optimistic estimate of the Labor vote was given by Hewitt who guessed 70,000 or 80,000; most of the newspapers thought 60,000 a closer figure. A rather close prediction was made by the *World*, based on the previous election and estimates on the increase in registration since then. This gave George 60,000 with 45,000 of this drawn from the Democrats and 15,000 from the Republicans. It predicted 101,640 for Hewitt and 57,506 for Roosevelt. In total votes cast the prediction was off by 49.[76] At the time there was little feeling that extensive fraud had occurred, although some undoubtedly did. George carried only four districts out of twenty-four and in these the margin was slight—in no case greater than 600. In the districts lost, George failed badly—by more than 1,000 in thirteen out of the remaining twenty districts. George lost three districts composed largely of workingmen and immigrants—the 12th, 16th, and 22d.[77] Thus there seems little evidence to support assertions made considerably after the election that George was counted out.

A clearer perspective on the election can be gained by looking briefly beyond the immediate events of the campaign. George hailed the returns as a victory: "We want to continue the work of education. It matters little who holds the offices. The great thing we have done is to bring forward a principle into discussion. Now at last the great *land question—that is only another name for the labor question*—is in practical politics in the United States, and it is there to stay."[78] But George was wrong. During

[75] Post and Leubuscher, *George-Hewitt Campaign*, 109, 169.

[76] New York *World*, October 18, 1886.

[77] New York *Observer*, Nov. 11, 1886; Post and Leubusher, *George-Hewitt Campaign*, 156–68.

[78] *Ibid.*, 173 (italics mine).

the winter of 1886 and after, attempts were made to organize a national political party along the lines of the George candidacy. The result was the formation of the United Labor Party by the nucleus of those who had been most active in the campaign. The United Labor Party had a stormy career, beset by splintering, internal disagreements, and disputes between labor-leader prima donnas. George ran for New York Secretary of State in 1887 on the United Labor Party ticket and was decisively beaten. The United Labor Party stumbled on and was dissolved in 1888 after another poor showing in the presidential campaign of that year.[79]

A glance at Hewitt after the election is also instructive, for his reform administration was hardly spectacular. Despite protestations that no deal had been involved in his nomination, Hewitt, too, had his commitments for patronage to discharge. In writing to an office-seeker Hewitt pointed out, "I am constrained, however, by exigencies of the situation, to make my appointment from among residents of the 23rd and 25th wards." These were wards, incidentally, which had given him handsome pluralities.[80] Tammany as well as the County Democracy benefited from his patronage—though perhaps not so much as expected. Hewitt wrote indignantly to Tammany Sheriff Hugh Grant when questioned on this: "In all the morning papers which I have seen I find a statement that you have expressed dissatisfaction with my appointments, and that the Tammany organization is equally disappointed. I should be glad to be informed whether you entertain the views attributed to you."[81] As Mayor, Hewitt became disgruntled and again antagonistic toward Tammany.[82] In 1888 the Democrats were once more divided and Hewitt failed re-

[79] Louis F. Post, *The Prophet of San Francisco* (New York: 1930), 81–89; Gompers, *Seventy Years*, I, 322–324.

[80] Hewitt to James A. Roosevelt, March 7, 1887, Hewitt Papers (NYHS). "Of course you know that I am not altogether a free agent in the disposition of offices which will be within my gift. I am certainly under no pledge to anyone but I have many interests to consider." Hewitt to T. J. Brown, Feb. 10, 1887, Hewitt Papers (NYHS).

[81] Hewitt to Grant, June 1, 1887, Hewitt Papers (NYHS).

[82] Hewitt to William Hogg, Sept. 2, 1888, Hewitt Papers (NYHS).

election on an independent and County Democracy ticket, placing a poor third. Tammany swept the municipal elections in 1888 through a deal with the Republicans to support Harrison in the national election.

Thus the election of 1886 was not the herald of a new day in politics nor the signal for the emergence of a new third party oriented around organized labor. The unusual nature of the election was rather the result of the pyramiding of social and Labor pressures in 1886, combined with the dynamic personality and appeal of Henry George, and framed by the pressures of the recent return of the Democrats to national power after an absence of more than two decades.

While the percentage vote for Labor was the largest ever before or since seen in New York, the solidarity of Labor in politics was artificial, a product of temporary forces and circumstances. The election did establish the workingman's vote as something to be sought after by the traditional parties and forced a consideration of labor and social problems in the political arena. In so doing it pointed up the way that organized labor would be accommodated in politics—through the absorption of its demands into the platforms of the major parties rather than through the creation of an independent labor party. The election had a marked effect on deciding the course of organized labor in politics. Gompers renounced independent political action as a result of the campaign and devoted his energies to building up a powerful American Federation of Labor as an instrument for industrial rather than political action.

The election also placed in interesting relief the problem of reform in politics. How did the respectables differ from the new breed of machine politicians, the ambitious amateurs from the ambitious professionals or, indeed, both from the ambitious Labor candidate? The union of Democrats in the emergency of 1886 showed that reformers and regulars were not such strange bedfellows after all, and induced reflection on whether they had ever been.

NICHOLAS BIDDLE KITTELL IN HIS NEW YORK STUDIO

By George Wharton Edwards, 1894

Gift of the author to The New-York Historical Society, 1960

NICHOLAS BIDDLE KITTELL (1822–1894)

A FORGOTTEN NEW YORK STATE ARTIST

by HELEN BURR SMITH

Author of "John Mare (1739–c.1795) New York State Portrait Painter"

SELF-TAUGHT and professionally active from his school days with Stephen Foster to the end of his life, Nicholas Biddle Kittell exhibited in twenty-five annual exhibitions of the National Academy, and numbered among his known subjects President Grant, two State governors, a lieutenant governor, at least three presidents of the New York Academy of Medicine, two co-founders of the New York Eye and Ear Infirmary, and, last but not least, the notorious Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst. He might therefore be expected still to have some historical identity and reputation. Yet practically nothing is known of him from the literature on American artists or the records of institutions which house his identified works.

My interest in Kittell stems from a visit to the once-eminent artist-writer George Wharton Edwards (1858–1950) shortly before his death at his home in Greenwich, Connecticut. Edwards said that Richard Watson Gilder, editor of *Century Magazine*, had published his "first book," and "would I like to see it and its sequels?" An illustration in one of these,[1] portraying an old artist at his easel, caught my eye. "This," said Mr. Edwards, "was an old friend of mine in the studio next to my own down on 15th Street, where he posed for me." When Mr. Edwards died, the original drawing for that illustration—the only known likeness of its subject—came to me as a gift. It had barely escaped the rubbish heap (through my timely intervention) on the supposition of Mr. Edwards' executor that no one living had the least

[1] *P'tit Matinic' and Other Monotones.* By George Wharton Edwards, Author of "Thumb-Nail Sketches." With Many Drawings and Decorations by the Author. (New York: The Century Co. Publishers, 1897), 90.

knowledge or interest in its subject. It now resides among the collections of The New-York Historical Society.

Nicholas Biddle Kittell was born in 1821 or '22, the son of Nicholas Kittle (born 1797) and Maria Clauw, who had been married at Kinderhook, New York, in 1820.[2] Probably the mother died shortly after the future artist was born, for no further mention of her appears after the father had taken the boy to live in Tioga, N.Y., where the grandparents had migrated via Milford as early as 1824.[3] Tioga was on the Susquehanna River just over the border from Pennsylvania. Grandfather Kittle moved the few miles upriver to Owego in 1828 and died there in 1831.[4] Nicholas, the artist's father, continued to live with his little son in Tioga, however, though his musical proclivities and the near proximity of his parents' last home town made him a regular visitor there, as the following account shows:

The first musical organization in Owego that was dignified by the name of a band, came into existence about the year 1834. . . . Nicholas Kittle was the leader and played the clarionet. He lived west of the Owe-

[2] Kinderhook, N.Y., Marriage Records. Kittell's obituary notices (*New York Times,* June 27, 1894; *New York Herald,* June 28, 1894) give his age at death as 80 years, from which The New-York Historical Society (in its record of Kittell's portrait of Governor William Learned Marcy) and Bartlett Cowdrey (in her *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record*) deduce that he was born in 1814. His gravestone in Kensico Cemetery gives his age at passing as 79, which would make his birth-date 1815. But his death certificate (registered in NYC Dept. of Health, Bureau of Records and Statistics) states that he was 72, thus placing his birth in the year 1822, or possibly 1821. No baptismal record has been found to confirm this, but his parents were not married until Nov. 10, 1820.

[3] The Tioga County land deeds (on file at Owego, N.Y.) record that "On May 1, 1824, Henry McCormick of the town of Owego deeded land in the town of Tioga to Nicholas Kittle [the grandfather], late of the town of Milford, County of Otsego." Nicholas Kittle (born at Kinderhook, 1755) and his wife Heltje Freyenmoet (born 1754), on December 26, 1828 (information supplied by Historian of Tioga County, 61 Forsythe St., Owego, N.Y.), in turn deeded the same land to their son Andrew W., of the town of Red Hook (Dutchess County). Another son, John C. Kittle, witnessed the deed. Their brother Nicholas, the father of the artist, was the youngest of the five children of Nicholas and Heltje (Freyenmoet) Kittle. (Baptismal Records of the Kinderhook Reformed Church, p. 24; also *N.Y. G. & B. Rec.*, Vol. 79, p. 155.)

[4] The 1828 deed (note 3) suggests that the short move took place in that year. The death notice (Deaths from Rural Repository of Hudson, N.Y., at N.Y. G. & B. Soc.) reads: "May 7, 1831 Nicholas Kittle at Oswego [Owego] on the Susquehanna River formerly of Hudson [some few miles southwest of Kinderhook (his original home and the birthplace of his children) in Columbia County], aged 76 years."

go creek opposite the "deep well" in the town of Tioga. The stream called Kittle creek takes its name from him. His son, Nicholas B. Kittle [when he] removed from this vicinity and acquired some distinction as a portrait painter, . . . considered the name Kittle rather commonplace, and consequently gave it an aristocratic twist by spelling it "Kittell."[5]

Eighteen-year-old Nicholas Biddle Kittell must somehow have taught himself to paint before he went to Towanda, Pennsylvania, some fifteen miles south of Tioga along the Susquehanna, and set himself up as a full-fledged artist. There, on September 3, 1840, he announced in the county paper:

Mr. N. B. Kittle respectfully informs the citizens of Towanda and the public generally, that he has taken the north room, up stairs, in the FIRE PROOF BUILDING for the purpose of

PORTRAIT AND MINIATURE PAINTING

Mr. Kittle may be found in his room at all times, and respectfully invites Ladies and Gentlemen of Towanda to call and examine specimens of his paintings. He leaves it to the public to decide upon the merits of his work.[6]

What success he enjoyed from this initial venture as a professional artist is unknown, but at least five portraits of Towanda citizens—four of them members of the McKean family and the other a Bradford County judge—have been attributed to Kittell as of this or the next succeeding years.[7]

In any event, when the Academy at Athens, Pennsylvania, some ten miles north of Towanda, opened in the fall, "the young portrait painter from Owego" registered there for the 1840–41 term. Also entering that Academy for the first time was another boy of budding genius who, like Kittell, had come to Towanda that year to try his first out-of-the-home-nest wings—Stephen

[5] Leroy Wilson Kingman, *Early Owego* (Owego, N.Y.: *Owego Gazette*, 1907), 486–87, and his *Our County and Its People—A Memorial History of Tioga County* (Elmira, N. Y.: 1897), 458.

[6] *The Bradford Reporter and Weekly Visitor*, Sept. 3, 1840. Although Kittell offered himself as a miniaturist and presumably had already painted some and probably during his long career would produce many more, no miniatures identifiable as his have been found to date.

[7] Letter to the author from Leo E. Wilt, Curator of the Bradford County Historical Society, March 22, 1954 (hereafter cited as L. E. Wilt, March 22, 1954); letter from the New York Public Library to Fletcher Hodges, Jr., Curator of the Foster Hall Collection, University of Pittsburgh, Sept. 20, 1947, and his letters to the author, March 16 and 22, 1952 (hereafter cited as Hodges Correspondence).

Foster. Their class at the Athens Academy was small so that, if they had not already become acquainted in Towanda, they certainly did so here. There is no record of whether Kittell continued his painting along with his studies, but his young friend did turn his musical interests to good purpose, for here he composed his first published opus—the *Tioga Waltz*. It was scored for flutes and "was performed by himself and school friends at the Athens commencement in April, 1841."[8] In view of Kittell's own musical background (his father being a clarinetist and bandmaster) it is intriguing but futile to speculate that the artist may have been one of those amateur flutists.

School being over, Stephen Foster returned in the spring to Towanda, where he had been staying with his older brother William, a State Engineer, and Kittell was soon to follow. Stephen had been homesick while at Athens and, contrary to his brother's wishes, preferred not to return there when the Academy should reopen but instead to continue his education in Towanda. Before this question could be settled, brother William had to leave Stephen for an extended field trip to supervise the construction of a canal.[9] While he was away, Stephen wrote him the following letter:

Towanda, Thursday

My Dear Brother.

As you wish to have me go to Athens for fear I will not learn enough in this place, I will tell you what my ideas were on the subject. . . . Mr. Kettle will be here tomorrow and will stop at Bartlett & Fords. he will have a room there but will not be in it in the day time as his paint room will be at another house. Mr. Ford says he will board me and give me as good a room as I wish for $2.00 per week.

[8] Elsie Murray, *Stephen C. Foster at Athens: His First Composition* (Athens, Pa.: 1941), particularly p. 22; Fletcher Hodges, Jr., "The Research Work in the Foster Hall Collection," *Pennsylvania History*, July 1948, p. 10; Evelyn Foster Morneweck, *Chronicles of Stephen Foster* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1941), 169–70, 178, 188–89, 191; Jessie Welles Murray, "Stephen C. Foster's School Days at the Athens Academy," *Foster Hall Bulletin*, No. 11 (February 1935), pp. 1–2; letter to the author from Elsie Murray, Ph.D., Curator of The Tioga Point Museum, April 20, 1952.

[9] Morneweck, *op. cit.*, 188–89; Jessie Welles Murray, *op. cit.*, 2, 4–5; letter to the author from L. E. Wilt, Director of The Bradford County [Pa.] Historical Society, March 28, 1952; *Foster Hall Bulletin*, No. 10 (May 1934), p. 17.

If you will let me board here (while you stay) and room with Kettle I will promise not to be seen out of doors between the hours of nine & twelve A.M. and one & four P.M. Which hours I will attribute to study, such as you please to put me into. I will also promise not to pay any attention to my music untill after eight Oclock in the evening after which Mr. Kettle will probably be in the room as he cannot paint after dark. I dont se how I could have a better chance for study. & the above price is as cheap as I could live in Athens that lonesome place—I can go over to recite in the forenoon at about 10 oclock and in the afternoon at 4—do please consent—Your affectionate & grateful brother—

Stephen[10]

If Stephen did room for a time with his friend Kittell at Bartlett & Ford's, it could not have been for long. When brother William returned to Towanda in July, he decided that, if Stephen would not continue his schooling at Athens, he had better be taken home to his parents in Youngstown. "Late that summer . . . Stephen admitted sadly that for once in his life he had been a fool —when he turned down William's offer to send him back to Athens."[11] Kittell, however, stayed on at Bartlett & Ford's (later the Clairmont), "which was across from the Court House and very popular with lawyers and others attending court."[12] His portrait of County Judge Chauncey S. Russell probably dates from this period of proximity.

The following year found him back at Athens, not as a student but as a professional artist. A history of that locality states:

Attracted by the flattering prospects, a self-taught portrait painter, N. B. Kittel, opened a studio in Athens in 1842; his work was given unstinted praise in the *Scribe* [*the local newspaper which had begun publication the year before*] but [is] now known to us only in the excellent portrait of Mrs Elisha Satterlee, which has been reproduced for this volume.[13]

[10] Morneweck, *op. cit.*, 197. Since the "Bartlett & Ford's" to which Stephen refers was in operation under that name only from April to November of 1841 (L. E. Wilt, letter to author, March 22, 1954), Stephen's letter must accordingly have been written in that year. And since Kittell returned to Towanda in May 1841 (L. E. Wilt, letter to author, March 28, 1952), Stephen's letter, referring to that event as expected "tomorrow," must have been written in May. (This letter was brought to my attention by Mr. Fletcher Hodges.)

[11] Jessie Welles Murray, *op. cit.*, 4–5.

[12] L. E. Wilt to author, March 28, 1952.

[13] Louise Welles Murray, *A History of Old Tioga Point and Early Athens, Pa.* (Athens, Pa.: 1908), 504. The portrait of Mrs. Satterlee has since been questioned.

There is a portrait of a Mrs. Elisha Matthewson at the Tioga Point Museum also attributed to Kittell[14] but no further portraits of his Athens period have so far been identified.

When Kittell left the Athens-Towanda area or for what destination is not known. Perhaps he returned for a time to his father's Tioga-Owego community, for the historian of that place states that he removed thence to Hamilton, New York.[15] This must have been before 1845, for he was then living in Norwich (Chenango County), New York, as stated in his marriage record. On November 13, 1845, the artist was married to Jane Olivia Rudderow, at her brother's home in New York City, by the Rev. Henry Anthon, Rector of St. Mark's-in-the-Bowery.[16] The couple were still living in Norwich in 1847 when Kittell first exhibited at the National Academy of Design. His first entry in the 1847 exhibition was his portrait of the Hon. John Tracy, former lieutenant governor of New York and president of the Constitutional Convention of 1846, whose home was at Oxford, a few miles southwest of Norwich. The following year the artist and his wife are said to have moved to New York.[17]

There is an eight-year blank in the record of his life beginning with 1848. But from 1856 to the end of his life he maintained studios at known addresses in New York City, though he made his home in Brooklyn during the first eight of those years. His

[14] Hodges Correspondence, March 22, 1952. This portrait is also reproduced in Murray, *A History of Old Tioga Point*, 311. I have not been able to confirm the attribution.

[15] Kingman, *Early Owego*, 487. I have not been able to corroborate Kingman's statement or find any evidence of Kittell's activity in Hamilton.

[16] Marriage Records, St. Mark's-in-the-Bowery, where Nicholas's first name is recorded incorrectly as Nathaniel. The bride's parents were Humphrey Rudderow and Maria (Lane) Rudderow. See also, *N.Y. Evening Post Marriages*, Vol. 12 (1845–49), 24.

[17] [Cowdrey,] *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record 1826–1860* (The New-York Historical Society, 1943), I, 278; NAD Annual Exhibition Catalogues, 1861–1891; Stephen C. Hutchins, *Civil List and Constitutional History of the Colony and State of New York* (Albany: 1880), 130, 153, 536; obit., *New York Herald*, June 28, 1894, and *New York Times*, June 27, 1894, which states: "he had resided in New York since 1848." The *Times* obituary also states that "his youth was passed at Watertown and Delhi, N.Y.," but I can find no other evidence, in those towns or elsewhere, that he ever lived or worked there.

WILLIAM LEARNED MARCY (1786–1857)

Governor of New York, 1833–38; Secretary of War, 1845–49;
Secretary of State, 1853–57
Signed and dated: "N. B. Kittell 1857"

The New-York Historical Society

studio addresses were: 442 Broadway (1856–61); "At Dodsworth's," 204 Fifth Avenue (1862–64); 212 Fifth Avenue (1865–75); 337 Fourth Avenue (1876–91); and 96 Fifth Avenue (1892–94).[18] This final studio was in a four-story brownstone building on the southwest corner of the intersection of Fifth Avenue and 15th Street. It was here that he posed, less than six months before his death, for George Wharton Edwards, whose studio adjoined his.[19]

In 1857 Kittell resumed his exhibitions at the National Academy of Design, whose annual catalogues list works exhibited by him for 1847, 1857–68, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1880, 1881, 1884, 1886, 1887, 1889, and 1891. During these years of a busy New York career, the artist also worked and exhibited elsewhere.

In December 1861 the directors of the Northampton Bank, Northampton, Massachusetts, resolved to commission two portraits of the bank's founder and president, Eliphalet Williams. No time was lost in doing so. On February 7th and 11th, respectively, it was announced that:

> The oil painting of Eliphalet Williams, executed by N. B. Kitell of New York, for the Directors of the Northampton Bank, has been completed and is a very life-like representation of the venerable ex-President. . . .[20]
> Mr. N. B. Kittell, of New York, an artist of enviable reputation, has completed two very excellent large size portraits of Eliphalet Williams, Esq.[21]

One of these portraits was exhibited at the 1862 Annual Exhibition of the National Academy of Design by the Northampton Bank and now hangs in the Forbes Library, Northampton, Massachusetts.

The last twenty summers of Kittell's life were spent at North Conway, New Hampshire, "where he painted White Mountain

[18] New York City Directories, 1856/57–1894. His Brooklyn residence was on Lafayette Avenue. One of his New York residences was at 60 W. 17th Street.

[19] Information from G. W. Edwards. The building was still standing in 1958, when it was sold to be replaced by a "fourteen-apartment house."—*New York Times*, Nov. 24, 1958.

[20] *The Northampton Free Press*, Feb. 7, 1862. (Williams, however, remained president of the bank until his death in 1874.)

[21] *New Hampshire Gazette and Northampton Courier*, Feb. 11, 1862.

views"[22] and portraits and is remembered to this day. The present owner of six of those portraits writes:

> . . . I have heard my husband [Dr. Nathaniel Mason] and his parents speak of him many times. Mr. Kittell stayed, when in North Conway, for many summers at the Sunset Pavilion, a hotel of which my father-in-law was proprietor: from what I have been told would say that his hotel expenses were often taken care of by painting a portrait of the Mason family.[23]

The earliest of his North Conway portraits still to be found is signed and dated 1877. The second, showing the two-year-old son of the proprietor of Sunset Pavilion, signed and dated 1878, is the earliest extant of the Mason portraits, presumably painted in payment for the Kittells' hotel bill. By this time the artist's name and fame had spread through the surrounding area and created a demand for his work which Kittell arranged to fulfill. Of the first such venture on record (1879) it was later reported: "Mr. Kittell has had great success in Portland [Maine] this winter."[24]

During this successful winter of 1879 in Portland, Kittell painted a portrait of James Phinney Baxter (1831–1921)[25] and another of Mrs. Baxter and three of their children grouped in the center of the library. This group painting is in possession of the Hon. Percival P. Baxter, ex-Governor of Maine, who is shown in the portrait at the age of two seated on the floor. Of this portrait the *Portland Advertiser*, February 20, 1879, said:

> Pictures at Hale's—There are now on exhibition in Hale's art gallery several pictures of rare merit, an examination of which will repay the visitor. Among these is one by Mr. Ketelle, a New York artist, which is pronounced by Portland artists to be the finest painting at present within

[22] *New York Times*, June 27, 1894. None of the "White Mountain views" can now be located.

[23] Mrs. Nathaniel R. Mason to author, March 25, 1952, to whom the author expresses her gratitude for permission to reproduce the six Kittell portraits of Mason family members in her possession and for clippings of the newspaper accounts from the *White Mountain Echo* and the *Boston Sunday Herald* cited herein.

[24] *White Mountain Echo*, July 11, 1879, announcing the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Kittell at North Conway "in a day or two."

[25] This portrait was given by the subject's son, ex-Governor Percival P. Baxter, to the Baxter Memorial Library at Gorham, Maine, where it now hangs.

ELLEN (MCROBERTS) MASON, *c.* 1878 (RIGHT) AND *c.* 1880 (LEFT)

Both painted by Kittell at North Conway, N.H.

Owner: Mrs. Nathaniel R. Mason

the limits of the State. It is a view of Mr. James P. Baxter's library, with Mrs. Baxter and her children forming a group in the center. The strong points of the picture are breadth, clearness, coloring and minute detail. The most trifling object, as the figure of a rug, or the lettering on the back of a volume is reproduced with exactness. The shadows are transparent, as they should be. In the matter of colors Mr. Ketelle seems to have left the old beaten track, and formed a method of mixing and blending of his own. The more one looks at this picture, the better he likes it.

The Baxter portraits, however, did not constitute the whole of Kittell's "great success in Portland." On February 15, 1879, *The Daily Eastern Argus* reported: "There are now on exhibition at Hale's several very fine oil paintings by the noted artist Kettelle of New York, which our citizens ought to see. The exhibition is a fine one."

It is not known whether Kittell spent other winters working in this or other nearby communities or in what New England towns, other than North Conway and Portland, he executed commissions, but that he did extend his efforts in that area may be suspected from the following 1881 news item:

N. B. Kittell, the celebrated portrait painter has made fine likenesses and handsome pictures of two Boston ladies, Mrs. Hawes and Mrs. Dewey. Mr. Kittell will have a studio in town that will be open to the public next summer.[26]

Wherever else in New England Kittell may have worked, he continued his summer sojourns in North Conway, with his wife until her death there in 1888, and without her thereafter at least through 1891. Mrs. Kittell's social and conversational resources no doubt proved a considerable asset to the artist in attracting commissions and buyers. As early as 1879 the local newspaper commented: "Mrs. N. B. Kittell reigns as of old among the cultured society at the Sunset Pavilion entertaining all—a veritable 'American Madame Recamier.'"[27] And in 1880:

There are as usual N. B. Kittell and Mrs. Kittell—"the American Madame Recamier," some one has called this charming woman—and with them Miss Lillian Applegate. Miss Applegate is of New York and not of Boston but nothing is brighter than her quaint bon mots, excepting her beautiful face.[28]

In 1886 Kittell had "his studio this summer in the lower story of the old Academy by 'the Kearsarge'" in North Conway,[29] but he and his wife continued their patronage of the Sunset Pavilion, and there, two years later, his helpmate of more than four decades died.

Mrs. N. B. Kittell, the wife of the New York artist, died suddenly at the Sunset Tuesday morning Aug. 29th [1888]. Mr. & Mrs. Kittell came here about a week ago. For sixteen or seventeen years they have spent their summers here. . . . only a day or two before the end came she told her husband that if she did not live to go away she wished to be buried in North Conway. There was no other place that she loved so well, and it was as she wished. . . .[30]

[26] *White Mountain Echo*, Sept. 21, 1881.

[27] *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, 1879. The same paper reported the artist's arrival also the following year.—*Ibid.*, July 8, 1880.

[28] *Ibid.*, Aug. 26, 1880. Miss Applegate was a grandniece of Wilson G. Hunt whose portrait Kittell had painted and exhibited at the National Academy of Design in 1876.

[29] *Boston Sunday Herald*, Aug. 15, 1886. The Kearsarge still exists as an inn in North Conway. Its proprietors are the sisters of Carrie Lillian Ricker whose baby picture, painted by Kittell in 1877, hangs in the inn.

[30] *White Mountain Echo*, Sept. 1, 1888.

The following year, "the familiar figure of Mr. Kittell, the artist, is again seen at the Sunset, where he has spent so many years."[31] He continued his summer migrations there at least through 1891, when he painted the last of the Mason family portraits.[32] There is no record that he ever returned to North Conway again.

CHARITY DAVIS MCROBERTS

Signed and dated, North Conway, 1891

Owner: Mrs. Nathaniel R. Mason

During all these years of vacation-work in New England, Kittell of course maintained his principal studio in New York. His output of pictures there must have been substantial, for, though his portraits were never recorded (except in the exhibition listings of the National Academy), those which are housed in institutions such as the New York Academy of Medicine and so can now be located indicate that many public and professional men of distinction had patronized his studio. Greater numbers of the less distinguished undoubtedly did so, too, but their portraits, being still privately owned, must remain for the present unlisted.

[31] *Ibid.*, Aug. 17, 1889.

[32] Mrs. John (Charity Davis) McRoberts, mother-in-law of the proprietor of the Sunset Pavilion.

Kittell also painted miniatures, still lifes (two being recorded in the National Academy of Design catalogues), and landscapes. No examples of any of these categories have been found. A checklist of all his presently located or recorded work is appended to this article.

In mid-May 1894 Kittell "had just finished a portrait of the Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst" when he was "stricken with paralysis and . . . taken to the Hahnemann Hospital for treatment." He had been living in a boarding house at 149 W. 15th Street, a short walk from his 96 Fifth Avenue studio where the portrait was found after his death. During five weeks of quick and continuing recovery at the hospital, he enjoyed numerous outings in Central Park for prolonged periods of sketching. He even "began the portrait of one of the hospital physicians, and while working on it," suffered a final stroke. He died, a childless widower without immediate relatives, at five o'clock in the morning of June 25, 1894.[33]

He was buried the following day from the Hospital Chapel (where services were conducted by the rector of the Church of the Holy Communion) in Kensico Cemetary at Valhalla, Westchester County. Three years later, the body of his wife was removed from the village graveyard at North Conway and reinterred beside him.[34]

Had it not been for George Wharton Edwards' preservation of his original drawing of his old friend, Nicholas Biddle Kittell might never have been rescued from oblivion to take his place, so well earned and deserved, among the prominent American portrait painters of the nineteenth century.

[33] Obituary, *New York Times*, June 27, 1894; death certificate, NYC Dept. of Health, Bur. of Records and Statistics, Borough of Manhattan. He died intestate. His estate, valued at $300, was granted to his administrator, James W. Fowler, a prominent attorney of Newburgh.–Letters of Administration, Liber 200–197, Bond Book P. A. Date March 14, 1895. N.Y. Hall of Records.

[34] This was done by Frances E. Fowler, daughter of James W. Fowler, administrator, in-law, and friend. She was superintendent of the Woman's Hospital in New York from 1892 to 1909. It was she, presumably, who had the headstone erected and inscribed: "N. B. Kittell/Died June 25, 1894/Age 79 Years" and "Jane O. Rudderow/His Wife/Died Aug. 28, 1888/Age 72 Years."

CHRONOLOGICAL CHECKLIST OF WORKS BY OR ATTRIBUTED TO NICHOLAS BIDDLE KITTELL

ALLEN MCKEAN (1808–1886), of Towanda, Pa. Presumably painted at Towanda, *c.* 1840–41. Owned by The Bradford County Historical Society, Towanda, Pa., where it is attributed to Kittell.—Letter from L. E. Wilt, Curator of the Society, March 22, 1954.

ELIZA ANN MERRY MCKEAN (1807–1909), wife of Allen McKean. Presumably painted at Towanda, Pa., *c.* 1840–41. Owned by The Bradford County Historical Society, Towanda, Pa., where it is attributed to Kittell.—Letter from L. E. Wilt, Curator of the Society, March 22, 1954.

JOHN MCKEAN (1809–1877), first cousin of Allen McKean, and a farmer in the township of Troy, Pa. Presumably painted at Towanda, *c.* 1840–41. Owned by The Bradford County Historical Society, Towanda, Pa., where it is attributed to Kittell.—Letter from L. E. Wilt, Curator of the Society, March 22, 1954.

ELECTA MOORE MCKEAN (1811–1903), wife of John McKean. Presumably painted at Towanda, Pa., *c.* 1840–41. Owned by The Bradford County Historical Society, Towanda, Pa., where it is attributed to Kittell.—Letter from L. E. Wilt, Curator of the Society, March 22, 1954.

CHAUNCEY S. RUSSELL (1824–1906), Associate Judge of Bradford County. Presumably painted at Towanda, Pa., *c.* 1841. Owned by The Bradford County Historical Society, Towanda, Pa., where it is attributed to Kittell.—Letter from L. E. Wilt, Curator of the Society, March 22, 1954.

MRS. ELISHA SATTERLEE. Presumably painted at Athens, Pa., *c.* 1842. Repro. in Louise Welles Murray, *A History of Old Tioga Point* . . . (1908), ix, 310, as by Kittell. The Tioga Point Museum owns a similar portrait of Mrs. Elisha Matthewson (repro. in Murray, 311) also attributed to him, though both attributions are questioned.

HON. JOHN TRACY (1783–1864), Lieutenant Governor of New York, 1832–38; president, Constitutional Convention of 1846. Painted at Oxford or Norwich, N.Y., before July 1847, when it was exhibited at the National Academy of Design* by H. R. Mygatt, son-in-law of subject.

PORTRAIT OF A LADY. Exhibited at NAD, July 1847, by C. H. A. Carter.

* Hereafter referred to as NAD. All information in this checklist on NAD exhibitions is from the exhibition catalogues of that institution. When this is the only source of information about a work, such work is listed by the title given in the catalogue and without specifying that present owner is unknown.

Gov. William Learned Marcy (1786–1857), Governor of New York, 1833–39; Secretary of War, 1845–49; Secretary of State, 1853–57. Signed and dated 1857, probably at Ballston Spa, where Marcy had just moved from Albany and where he died later that year. Exhibited at NAD, 1858, 1878. Owner: The New-York Historical Society.

Portrait of a Gentleman. Exhibited at NAD, 1857, presumably by the artist.

Dr. [John?] Berry. Exhibited at NAD, 1857, by R. Lethbridge.

A Lady. Exhibited at NAD, 1858, presumably by the artist.

A Child. Exhibited at NAD, 1859, by S. C. Higginson.

Minnie McBride. Exhibited at NAD, 1859, presumably by the artist.

Cabinet Portrait. Exhibited at NAD, 1860, by J. Ives Parsons.

A Lady. Exhibited at NAD, 1860, by J. Ives Parsons.

A Lady. Exhibited at NAD, 1860, presumably by the artist.

Portrait of a Lady. Exhibited at NAD, 1861, by John Berry.

Portrait of a Gentleman. Exhibited at NAD, 1861, presumably by the artist.

Basket of Raspberries. Exhibited at NAD, 1861, presumably by the artist.

Hon. Eliphalet Williams (1780–1874), founder and president of the Northampton National Bank, 1835–74. Painted in 1862 at Northampton, Mass. Exhibited at NAD, 1862, by Northampton National Bank. Now hanging in Forbes Library, Northampton, Mass.

Hon. Eliphalet Williams (1780–1874)—a second portrait. Painted in 1862 at Northampton, Mass. (Source: *New Hampshire Gazette and Northampton Courier*, Feb. 11, 1862.)

A Lady. Exhibited at NAD, 1862, presumably by the artist.

A Lady. Exhibited at NAD, 1863, presumably by the artist.

A Lady—Cabinet. Exhibited at NAD, 1863, by J. G. Rosman, M.D.

Portrait. Exhibited at NAD, 1864, by C. P. Burdett.

Ideal Head. Exhibited at NAD, 1864, presumably by the artist.

Portrait. Exhibited at NAD, 1865, by A. S. Baxter.

Portrait. Exhibited at NAD, 1865, presumably by the artist.

Portrait. Exhibited at NAD, 1865, by S. W. Hartshorne.

Portrait. Exhibited at NAD, 1865, presumably by the artist.

Portrait. Exhibited at NAD, 1866, by Dr. R. P. Cooke.

Portrait. Exhibited at NAD, 1867, presumably by the artist.

Portrait. Exhibited at NAD, 1868, presumably by the artist.

Dr. Abram DuBois, M.D. (1810–1891), a founder and head surgeon of New York Eye and Ear Infirmary, a Fellow of the New York Academy of Medicine, and a life member of The New-York Historical Society. Probably painted about 1870. (Source: *N.Y.G. & B. Rec.*, Vol. 24, No. 4, frontis.) Owner: unknown.

General Ulysses S. Grant (1822–1885), 18th President of the United States. Painted "during his first term as president," place unknown. (Source: Obituary, *New York Times*, June 27, 1894.) Owner: unknown.

Portrait. Exhibited at NAD, 1874, by W. H. Breeden.

Portrait. Exhibited at NAD, 1875, presumably by the artist.

Dr. James Anderson, M.D. (1798–1886), eminent New York physician, an original trustee of the New York Academy of Medicine and its eleventh president, 1861–67. Signed and dated 1875. Exhibited at NAD, 1876. Owner: The New York Academy of Medicine.

Dr. John Watson, M.D. (1807–1863), physician and surgeon of New York, on staff of New York Hospital for twenty-four years, one of the organizers of the New York Academy of Medicine and its tenth president. Posthumous painting from a photograph. Signed and dated 1875. Owner: The New York Academy of Medicine.

Wilson G. Hunt (died 1892), New York merchant, a member of the Atlantic Cable Projectors. Exhibited at NAD, 1876. Owner: Bequeathed by subject in 1892 to his niece, Ellen D. Hunt.

Ideal Head. Exhibited at NAD, 1877, by the artist as "For sale $150."

Dr. Samuel S. Purple, M.D. (1822–1900), a constituent member of the New York Academy of Medicine, president, 1875–78, and founder of its library; editor of marriage and baptismal records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New York; a member of the New York Genealogical & Biographical Society, 1869–1900, during which time he served variously as its 1st vice-president, treasurer, trustee, president, and editor of its Record. Signed and dated 1877. Exhibited at NAD, 1877. Owner: The New York Academy of Medicine.

Carrie Lillian Ricker (1875–1876). Painted in 1877, from a photograph, at North Conway, N.H. Signed and dated. Owners: Mrs. M. R. Kinney and Misses A. C. and E. L. Ricker, sisters of the subject.

Portrait. Exhibited at NAD, 1878, by G. M. Smith, M.D.

Elizabeth (McRoberts) Newcomb, wife of George W. Newcomb and daughter of John and Charity Davis McRoberts. Painted about 1878 at North Conway, N.H. Owner: Mrs. Nathaniel R. Mason.

CARRIE LILLIAN RICKER

NATHANIEL R. MASON

Signed and dated at North Conway, 1877 and 1878

Owners: (left) Misses A. C. & E. L. Ricker & Mrs. M. R. Kinney; (right) Mrs. N. R. Mason

Nathaniel R. Mason (1876–1948), son of Mahlon L. Mason, proprietor of the Sunset Pavilion at North Conway, N.H., and his wife Ellen (McRoberts) Mason. Painted in 1878 at North Conway, N.H. Signed and dated. Owner: Mrs. Nathaniel R. Mason.

Ellen (McRoberts) Mason, wife of Mahlon L. Mason. Painted about 1878, at North Conway, N.H. Owner: Mrs. Nathaniel R. Mason.

James Phinney Baxter (1831–1921), merchant and author; built and donated to Gorham, Maine, its first library. Painted in 1879 at Portland, Maine. Signed and dated 1879. Owner: The Baxter Memorial Library, Gorham, Maine.

View of James P. Baxter's Library with Mrs. Baxter and Children (including 2-year-old future-Governor Percival P. Baxter of Maine). Painted and exhibited (Hale's Art Gallery) in 1879 at Portland, Maine. Signed and dated. Owner: Hon. Percival P. Baxter, ex-Governor of Maine.

Mrs. A. A. Strout. Painted 1879 at Portland, Maine. Exhibited at Hale's Art Gallery, Portland, Maine, in 1879. Source: *Portland Advertiser*, Feb. 20, 1879.) Owner: unknown.

Mr. Strout, son of Mrs. A. A. Strout. Painted in 1879 at Portland, Maine. Exhibited at Hale's Art Gallery in 1879. (Source: *Portland Advertiser*, Feb. 20, 1879.) Owner: unknown.

The Blue Scarf. Exhibited at NAD, 1880, presumably by the artist.

Ellen (McRoberts) Mason. Painted about 1880 at North Conway, N.H. Owner: Mrs. Nathaniel R. Mason.

Mrs. Dewey (of Boston). Painted in 1881 at North Conway, N.H. (Source: *White Mountain Echo*, Sept. 21, 1881.) Owner unknown.

Mrs. Hawes (of Boston). Painted in 1881 at North Conway, N.H. (Source: *White Mountain Echo*, Sept. 21, 1881.) Owner unknown.

Study of a Head (Edward Melcher). Exhibited at NAD, 1881, presumably by the artist.

Portrait. Exhibited at NAD, 1884, by Rev. Dr. Parkhurst.

Portraits. Exhibited at NAD, 1886, presumably by the artist.

Youthful Dreams. Exhibited at NAD, 1887, by Dr. Abram DuBois.

Yankee Doodle. Painted before 1889, place unknown. Owner: It was bequeathed to Charles G. Stevens in 1892 by Wilson G. Hunt as "my painting called 'Yankee Doodle' by Kittell." (Source: Will of Wilson G. Hunt, dated May 28, 1889, at NYC Hall of Records, Liber 491, p. 61.)

Head. Exhibited at NAD, 1889, presumably by the artist.

Dr. John Kearney Rodgers, M.D. (1793–1851), co-founder, with Dr. Edward Delafield, of the New York Eye and Ear Infirmary; director of the institution, 1821–50, and surgeon, 1820–50; a trustee of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, 1827–51; staff surgeon of the New York Hospital for twenty-nine years; and a founder, vice-president, and trustee of the New York Academy of Medicine. Signed and dated on back "Copied by N. B. Kittell 1890 from original by G. A. Baker, 1853." Owner: New York Eye and Ear Infirmary.

Portrait. Exhibited at NAD, 1891, by Marshall Gould.

Charity Davis McRoberts, wife of John McRoberts and mother-in-law of proprietor of Sunset Pavilion at North Conway, N.H. Painted at North Conway, N.H. Signed and dated 1891. Owner: Mrs. Nathaniel R. Mason.

Charity Davis McRoberts—a second portrait painted the same year. Signed and dated 1891. Owner: Mrs. Nathaniel R. Mason.

Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst (1842–1933), Presbyterian clergyman, reformer, minister of Madison Square Presbyterian Church for over twenty-five years. Painted in 1894 in New York, and left just finished on the easel in his studio, Fifth Avenue and 15th Street, at the time of his death. (*New York Times*, June 27, 1894.) Owner: First Presbyterian Church of New York, 12th Street and Fifth Avenue, whose historian, Mr. Arthur W. Courtney, has my thanks for his valuable cooperation.

THE POLITICS OF UPHEAVAL IN NEW YORK, 1689–1709*

by LAWRENCE H. LEDER, Brandeis University

ROBERT LIVINGSTON (1654–1728)
Copy of original by unknown artist, 1718
Gift of Mr. d'Alté Welch, 1952

IN THE HISTORY of New York, as in that of several other English colonies, the year 1689 has a special significance, marking as it does the outbreak of a rebellion based upon various local grievances. The Leisler Rebellion in New York, like the earlier one in Virginia and the contemporary ones in Maryland and Massachusetts, utilized the opportunity presented by exterior developments to throw into sharp focus some of the problems inherent in a society on the threshold of political maturity. In Virginia at the time of Bacon's Rebellion, and in Massachusetts in 1689, the result was a consolidation of the concept of self-government through a pragmatic and realistic approach to politics, but unfortunately for New York, the direction of the Rebellion there and its aftermath was not conducive to furthering this maturity. Instead, New York's heritage of rebellion was to be two decades of political upheaval.

The story of the Leisler Rebellion itself has been related on numerous occasions, but its effects on the political development of the colony have never been clearly understood.[1] The execu-

* Address before The New-York Historical Society, May 3, 1960.

[1] See Jerome R. Reich, *Leisler's Rebellion: A Study of Democracy in New York,*

tions in 1691 of Jacob Leisler, leader of the Rebellion, and of his son-in-law, Jacob Milborne, were acts of vengeance with results just the opposite of those anticipated by their perpetrators. The conversion of Leisler and Milborne into martyrs and the policy of repression against their followers created a stronger feeling of unity within this group than had ever existed while its leaders were alive. The fanatical devotion of this group to a lost cause has misled many commentators into viewing the two decades that followed as an over-simplified story of Leislerian versus anti-Leislerian.

It must be remembered, however, that party mechanisms were still imperfect, and the colony's politics were much more complex than such a description would suggest. Indeed, the native complexity of the situation was compounded and exaggerated by the quality of the Royal Governors sent to administer the colony's affairs, for these men frequently played upon the peculiarities of local politics for their own ends. A clearer view of the dimension of New York's politics in these two decades can be gained by looking at the scene, not from the customary Leislerian or anti-Leislerian position, but from a more detached vantage point. In both extreme camps there were factions within factions, a constant internal conflict of personalities which lay submerged until the group tasted the corruptive fruit of victory. This was certainly the situation during the period of anti-Leislerian dominance from 1691 to 1698; it was also the pattern during the briefer span of Leislerian control from 1700 to 1702.

The unfolding of this pattern can be readily observed in the career of Robert Livingston, the Scot who, in the fifteen years since his arrival in the colony as a penniless but ambitious youth, had already risen to high social, economic, and political standing.[2]

1664–1720 (Chicago: 1953), and the present author's review in *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXVIII (Jan. 1954), 85–88.

[2] Nicholas Bayard to William Blathwayt, May 6, 1691; William Nichols to William Blathwayt, May 7, 1691, William Blathwayt Papers (Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.), vols. VII, XV; New York Council Minutes, May 14, 1691, Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *The Documentary History of the State of New York* (4 vols.; Albany: 1849–50), II, 377.

When the Leisler Rebellion erupted, Livingston threw in his lot with the forces of the established aristocracy against the would-be aristocrats who rallied to Leisler's side. Livingston plotted against Leisler, suffered a lengthy exile in Connecticut, and devoted much time to political fence-mending with the English authorities.[3]

When the aristocracy was restored to power under the short-lived Governor Henry Sloughter in March 1691, Livingston was firmly entrenched with the Tory element.[4] The corruptive effects of power were soon at work, however; after Sloughter's unexpected death in July, the Councillors were on the verge of blows over the choice of a temporary successor to his authority. They finally selected a compromise figure, Richard Ingoldesby, whose previous position had been that of a captain of a company of royal troops stationed in New York. Although he strutted on the stage as Commander-in-Chief, the real power was wielded by James Graham who was "in Effect Governor Councell and Assembly too."[5] Since Graham was a fellow Scot and, more important, a close friend, Livingston was not at all displeased.

Sloughter's place was soon filled by a new Royal Governor, Benjamin Fletcher. Through his business correspondent in London, Livingston had an important contact with the new Governor, and the two men were fairly close for a while.[6] However, because Livingston's political attitudes were more moderate than those of the extremists who dominated the Tory faction under Fletcher's aegis, and because he had not been able to obtain satis-

[3] For an analysis of Robert Livingston's career, see the present author's forthcoming *Robert Livingston and the Politics of Colonial New York*, to be published by the University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture in November 1960.

[4] Robert Livingston to Fitz-John Winthrop, June 3, 1691, Winthrop Papers (Massachusetts Historical Society), XIV, 157; Edward Randolph to William Blathwayt, August 16, 1692, Blathwayt Papers, vol. II.

[5] "Calendar of Council Minutes, 1668–1783," New York State Library, *Bulletin 58 (March 1902) History* 6, p. 66; Edward Randolph to William Blathwayt, August 16, 1692, Blathwayt Papers, vol. II.

[6] Jacob Harwood to Robert Livingston, April 23, 1692; James Graham to Robert Livingston, November 25, 1692, Livingston-Redmond Mss. (Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York).

faction of his many legitimate demands on the New York government, Livingston slowly drifted away from the Tories, and, finally, while in London in 1695–96, broke dramatically with them. He then denounced Fletcher for his mismanagement of the government, mishandling of colonial defense, and outright corruption; the Governor, in turn, responded by calling Livingston a man who "will always Adheer to his owne Assertion that hee had Rather bee Call'd Knave Levingston then poore Levingston."[7]

From this time until the appointment of Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, as Governor in 1698, Livingston found himself in a political no-man's land; his friends and relatives not only deserted him but purposely sacrificed his interests on the altar of political expediency.[8] And Governor Fletcher, as he felt his power slipping because of the probability of his replacement, sought to strengthen his hold on the Tory faction by every available means. The Tories knew that Bellomont and the Whig leaders of the English government had befriended Livingston, that the Tories had lost all semblance of power in England, and that Fletcher's days as Governor were numbered. Yet, they persisted in supporting Fletcher's persecutions of Livingston, the man who would surely become one of Bellomont's chief lieutenants as soon as the English Whigs made their authority felt in this faraway corner of the empire.

There are several reasons why the Tory faction clung together in support of Fletcher at this time. They were political conserva-

[7] Benjamin Fletcher to William Blathwayt, November 19, 1694, Blathwayt Papers, vol. VIII; Proceedings of Lords of Trade, August 28, 1695, Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (11 vols.; Albany: 1853–61), IV, 127–28; Journal of Lords of Trade, September 2, 1695; Order of Lords of Trade, September 7, 1695, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies* (40 vols.; London: 1860–1939), XIV, nos. 2041, 2051; Benjamin Fletcher to William Blathwayt, August 22, 1696, Blathwayt Papers, vol. VIII.

[8] Report of Committee of New York Council, September 15, 1696; New York Council Minutes, September 17, 1696, New York Colonial Mss. (New York State Library), XL, 197b, 197a (1); New York Council Minutes (Mss., New York State Library), VII, 218; Report of New York Council, September 15, 1696, O'Callaghan, *Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, IV, 203.

tives, ever reluctant to gamble all they possessed on the unknown and untried. Position, prestige, and wealth were at stake, and political defeat in New York in the 1690s promised disastrous consequences. This natural timidity toward change had been visible during the Leisler Rebellion. At that time, these same men had hesitated to desert James II until they were first assured that William and Mary could maintain their grip on the English throne. When they did switch their allegiance, it was too late, for Leisler had already anticipated them and won the support of the populace for his early advocacy of the Glorious Revolution.

Coupled with this natural timidity was the fact that Fletcher was in a position to reward loyalty to himself in a lavish manner. The Whigs might hint at future rewards, but Fletcher's were immediate and substantial. To use one illustration, in the last two years of his administration, he gave away prodigious tracts of land to his supporters without the least thought of the consequences to the colony. One commentator has suggested that this symbolized his "extraordinarily low level of public morality." If so, it was further elucidated by the other favors that he disbursed—offices, salaries, and even official sanction of trafficking with the pirates.[9]

However, all this came to an end when Bellomont assumed the governorship in 1698, and the Tory faction immediately splintered. Livingston, of course, found that his political fortunes had taken a sharp turn for the better. He and Bellomont had become closely associated during Livingston's two-year stay in London, and he had served the new Governor well in his character-assassination of Fletcher and his promotion of Captain William Kidd's ill-fated privateering scheme.

Bellomont immediately recognized that New York's affairs demanded a strong leader committed to neither factional extreme. He arrived as an adherent of neither Tories nor Leisler-

[9] Irving Mark, *Agrarian Conflicts in Colonial New York 1711–1775* (New York: 1940), 23–24; "Calendar of Council Minutes," 115–26; Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (4 vols.; New York: 1924), I, 282–83.

ians, though his sympathies certainly lay with those who had suffered the proverbial seven lean years of oppression and persecution. The Governor was prepared to follow a middle-of-the-road course by depending on no one faction, but attempting instead to create a moderate leadership out of the chaos of New York's politics.

By force of circumstances, Robert Livingston became the keystone of the Governor's plans. Indeed, Livingston had no

RICHARD COOTE, EARL
OF BELLOMONT (1636–1701)

Governor of New York, 1698–1701

alternative: because he had broken first with the Leislerians and then with the Tories, his only hope of salvaging his political career and his estate and reputation lay in supporting Bellomont. Joining Livingston in this uncharted and turbulent political sea were three other prominent figures, each of whom had been intimates of Fletcher, and each of whom now abandoned his former connections. Stephanus Van Cortlandt and Peter Schuyler were united by marriage to Livingston, while Graham was an astute politician closely tied to his fellow Scotsman by a long personal friendship. All four men immediately made themselves

useful to Bellomont by charging Fletcher and his friends with various crimes, misdemeanors, and malfeasances.[10]

As long as Bellomont remained moderate in his outlook, Livingston, Van Cortlandt, Schuyler, and Graham were useful to him in rooting out the tangled undergrowth of graft and corruption which had flourished in the colony during Fletcher's administration.[11] They were essential, of course, in the Governor's abortive attempt to break the existing factional pattern of the colony's politics. During the first year of Bellomont's administration, the moderates were at the height of their glory, but when he, too, fell victim to factionalism, they were to be quickly cast aside.

The Governor's original outlook is clearly suggested by the men he recommended for appointment to his Council. Only two of these could be classified as Leislerians, while the other four were either moderates or, at worst, mild Tories.[12] One of these moderates was Robert Livingston, whom Bellomont also restored to his many offices, and upon whom he relied heavily for guidance in the conduct of Indian affairs and for financial support in the victualling of the royal troops stationed in New York.[13] That the Governor's initial attitude reflected his settled policy was demonstrated by his actions in September 1698. He could no longer contend with the perversity and obstructionism of the holdover Tory extremists in his Council, and he swept them out of office and appointed new members. The resulting Council was almost evenly divided between Leislerians and moderates.[14]

[10] Certificate of Stephanus Van Cortlandt and Robert Livingston, November 3, 1698; Certificate of James Graham and Robert Livingston, October 27, 1698, Public Record Office, CO 5:1041, nos. 21xiii, 12xxix (Library of Congress Transcripts); Bellomont to Lord Somers, March 7, 1699/1700, Harley Papers (British Museum), XXXVI, folio 84.

[11] Bellomont to Board of Trade, May 8, 1698, O'Callaghan, *Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, IV, 302–6.

[12] Bellomont to Board of Trade, May 28, 1698; Bellomont's Memorandum, July 13, 1698; *Cal. State Papers, Col.*, XVI, nos. 472vi, 672.

[13] Bellomont to Lord Somers, March 7, 1699/1700, Harley Papers, XXXVI, folio 84; "General Account of Victualling," May 1, 1698–November 1, 1700, Livingston-Redmond Mss.

[14] Bellomont to Board of Trade, October 21, 1698, O'Callaghan, *Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, IV, 399–400.

Although Bellomont's purpose was most praiseworthy, especially because of the colony's political needs, it was a difficult if not impossible position to maintain. With his attention divided between his duties in New York and New England, and with his blind devotion to the policies of the Crown, he soon lost control of the situation. According to the peripatetic English investigator, Edward Randolph, who was clearly no friend of Bellomont, the merchants were in an uproar over the Governor's efforts to enforce the Navigation Act of 1696 by destroying the illicit trade of New Yorkers with The Netherlands and by breaking the lucrative connection between certain merchants and the pirate base at Madagascar. The moderates, Livingston, Schuyler, and Van Cortlandt, who had been entrusted with the victualling of the royal troops, became uneasy over the seemingly irrational delays in repayment of their expenditures and, fed upon rumors that Bellomont had diverted their money to his own uses, reacted in a hostile manner. This, unfortunately for the Governor, was a situation beyond his control; the British army was in a deplorable state and its pay arrears amounted to £2,000,000 sterling as a result of Parliament's studied neglect. Thus the predicament of the victuallers in New York was simply a microcosm of the larger problem.[15]

Moreover, Bellomont ran headlong into the opposition of the colonial aristocracy, which supplied the leadership of both the Tory and moderate elements, to the enforcement of the royal policy of breaking the extravagant land grants which had created the great estates of the Hudson Valley and Long Island. This greatly increased the rift already existing between the two elements upon whom the Governor depended. The Leislerians, having been out of favor during Fletcher's administration when

[15] Edward Randolph to William Blathwayt, September 12, 1698, Blathwayt Papers, vol. II; Thomas Weaver's Memorial to Treasury, October 12, 1698, *Cal. State Papers, Col.*, XVI, no. 1039i; Stanley M. Pargellis, "The Four Independent Companies of New York," *Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles McLean Andrews By His Students* (New Haven: 1931), 105–6; Bellomont to Board of Trade, July 26, 1700; Bellomont to Vernon, July 29, 1700, O'Callaghan, *Doc. Rel. Col. Hist. N.Y.*, IV, 687–88, 697.

lands were granted with a free hand, had never had an opportunity to acquire princely estates, and therefore supported Bellomont's program and urged him on; the moderates, each of whom possessed vast tracts of unsettled lands granted either during or before Fletcher's time, were strenuous in opposing any land-reform program. A law to vacate the extravagant grants made by Fletcher easily passed the Leislerian-dominated Assembly, but met with a divided Council, and the Governor had to cast the deciding vote.[16]

The moderates' unwillingness to support his proposals and their suspicion as to his motives led to growing irritation on Bellomont's part and a final rupture by October of 1700. The Governor had been most generous to this group, having rescued them from political oblivion, and he expected in turn a full measure of devotion and loyalty. Since it was not forthcoming, he began to find fault with the moderates. Livingston was criticized for his failure to reveal information about a pirate who allegedly came to Long Island with £500,000 sterling in treasure and was warned away from the colony. Peter Schuyler came in for his share of barbed criticism for his extravagance in confusing official Indian negotiations with private fur-trade deals and charging the government for the costs of both. Livingston and Schuyler, along with Van Cortlandt and William Smith, were further attacked for their opposition to the Governor's land reforms, and Graham was charged with being their friend and therefore unwilling to cast a vote detrimental to their interests. Finally, Bellomont accused the victuallers, Livingston, Schuyler, and Van Cortlandt, of cheating the soldiers, ignoring the fact that they had not been reimbursed for over £10,000 expended in that service.[17]

The moderates were now, to Bellomont's way of thinking, an encumbrance, and his determination to rid himself of them was

[16] Bellomont to Board of Trade, May 3, 1699 and April [*sic*, May] 27, 1699, *ibid.*, 514, 510.

[17] Bellomont to Lords of Admiralty, October 15, 1700; Bellomont to Board of Trade, October 17, 1700, *ibid.*, 711, 714, 716, 720, 723, 725.

facilitated by the deaths of Stephanus Van Cortlandt in January 1701 and James Graham three months later. This enabled him to appoint a Leislerian in place of Van Cortlandt, thereby giving those extremists a majority of one vote on the Council.[18] Now, the decline of the moderate element in New York's politics was inevitable, and the rise of the Leislerians irrepressible. The death of Bellomont in March 1701 threw the whole machinery of government into the hands of the Leislerians, and compliance in this scheme of things by the weak Lieutenant Governor John Nanfan gave them their first opportunity to wreak vengeance for the martyrdom of their leader, Jacob Leisler.

The colony's politics now reverted to the earlier pattern of bitterness and violence. However, now that the Leislerians were tasting the fruit of victory, they, too, fell victim to internal dissensions such as those that had plagued the Tories earlier. Although the dissensions were not as marked, the reason is simple enough—their period of dominance was much briefer than that of the Tories. At least one instance of discontent within the Leislerian ranks was reported by one of Livingston's correspondents: one of their leaders "fretts and frys," while two others are "very furious." The occasion of this conflict was the passage of an address praising the conduct of Lieutenant Governor John Nanfan, Chief Justice William Atwood, and Collector Thomas Weaver —staunch Leislerians all. However, the Assembly made it appear that Nanfan was the "fool or tool," while Atwood and Weaver were the "helmsmen."[19]

Conversely, the rise of Leislerian power served to unify their opponents. The once-valid distinction between moderates and Tories was now a thing of the past because the moderates occupied an untenable position. Having formerly placed their full reliance upon the Earl of Bellomont, they now realized the need for a more formidable and substantial sanctuary, and they turned

[18] "Calendar of Council Minutes," 152; The New-York Historical Society *Collections, 1892*, 100–101.

[19] David Jamison to Robert Livingston, October 28, 1701, Livingston-Redmond Mss.

to their erstwhile enemies, the Tories, in an alliance to avert the loss of their property, reputations, and even lives. Thus was renewed the original coalition of Tory and moderate as a result of the fearsome prospect of the rise of power of the bitterest enemies of both.

Gradually, the coalition began to organize itself, and Livingston found himself urged by one of the Tory leaders, David Jamison, to support that group's candidates in the Assembly elections. Nicholas Bayard was assigned the preparation of a series of addresses to the King, the Parliament, and the impatiently awaited new Governor, Lord Cornbury, while the other members, including Livingston, were asked to secure signatures to them. Moreover, the coalition organized a finance committee: Rip Van Dam, Onzeel Van Swieten, and Stephen De Lancey were appointed "trustees for the receiving keeping and delivering what is collected for publick services."[20]

Such moves as these struck fear into the hearts of the Leislerians, and resulted in a renewed wave of oppression. Robert Livingston was taken to task, and unjustly so, for his alleged misapplication of governmental funds and his intrigues with the Indians. His estate was confiscated, and his office of Secretary for Indian Affairs was taken from him. Nicholas Bayard was charged with treasonable activities for having prepared and circulated the addresses to the King, Parliament, and Cornbury, and after trial the sentence of death was pronounced against him; he was reprieved until the King's pleasure could be known only because he admitted his culpability.[21]

The arrival in New York of Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, as Governor in May 1702 put an end to the Leislerian program of

[20] *Ibid.;* Livingston et al., "Our Power to 4 Gentlemen at N: York to Sign the 3 Peticons," November 13, 1701; David Jamison to Robert Livingston, October 20, 1701, Livingston-Redmond Mss.

[21] *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York* (2 vols.; New York; 1764–66), I, 127, 128–29, 136; Commissioners of Statutory Revision, *The Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1664 to the Revolution* (5 vols.; Albany: 1894), I, 462–65; William Atwood's writ to the Escheator General, April 21, 1702, Livingston-Redmond Mss.; Osgood, *op. cit.*, II, 58–60.

EDWARD HYDE, VISCOUNT CORNBURY (1661–1723)

Governor, Province of New York, 1702–1708
Oil painting by unidentified artist

The New-York Historical Society

revenge and repression, but it also inaugurated the final act in the political tragedy being played on the New York stage. Cornbury's actions would result in a complete recasting of the colony's political structure, but this was not a positive achievement; rather, it was the negative result of one of the worst and most indefensible administrations of any New York Governor.

During Cornbury's seven-year administration, the old touchstone of the Leisler Rebellion disappeared from view, and an entirely new political system evolved. There were four primary reasons for this transformation: the death and retirement of the leading protagonists of the Rebellion, the removal of the once-important barriers of family alliance by the inter-marriage of the leading clans on both sides, the failure of the programs of both Leislerians and Tories, and the development of new issues which broke across the old factional alliances.[22]

However, the last two points mentioned would not have been possible except for the character and personality of Cornbury. He was undeniably the worst chief executive who ever administered, or maladministered, the colony, and his many crimes, large and small, did much to unite the previously estranged leaders of New York. One authority has concluded that "careful inquiry into the course of Cornbury's administration in New York on the whole substantiates the legend which portrays him as a spendthrift, a 'grafter,' a bigoted oppressor, and a drunken, vain fool. The combination of considerable attainments in all four of these directions in a single career of less than seven years may fairly be considered to justify the notoriety which clings to his name."[23]

At first, Livingston looked upon the new Governor as the means of deliverance. "My Lord," he wrote in his initial enthusiasm, "is Extream hearty to Redresse all greevances & we must Reckon it a duble mercy that god has been Pleased to send him at

[22] Beverly McAnear, "Politics in Provincial New York, 1689–1761" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1935), 127–29, 225–44, 1000–1002.

[23] Charles W. Spencer, "The Cornbury Legend," New York State Historical Association *Proceedings*, XIII (1914), 309–10, 319.

this juncture." After a few months, Livingston was less certain of Cornbury's benevolence: "Tho it is not Probable we may have the same government again, yet we may a worse in Regard our Sinns increase, by Consequence our Plagues must also, for we are more Profane & wicked than ever." Five years later, Livingston realized the full consequences of Cornbury's character and described him as one "wholly addicted to his pleasure and enriching himself with Strange and unheard of methods, having some fool Creatures about him, whose Councills he pursues to the great grieff of the Principall Inhabitants, his dressing himself in womans Cloths commonly every morning is so unaccountable that if hundreds of Spectators did not dayly see him, it would be incredible."[24]

Livingston went even further, and he placed the blame for Cornbury's success on the peculiarities of New York politics. "A visible judgement appears since this gentleman came among us," he wrote, "we have a poor dispirited people, a mixture of English, Dutch, and French that live in the Province, and if they be never So much oppress'd, dare not complain, because they are not unanimous, & doe not stick to one another, So that a governor if he be not a man of honor and probity can oppresse the people when he pleases, its but Striking in with one Party & they assist him to destroy the other, and this is our case."[25]

The general relief felt when Cornbury was replaced by Lord John Lovelace, Baron of Hurley, can well be imagined. The new Governor was welcomed as a reformer, not merely because his orders from the Crown encompassed reforms, but because any successor to the iniquitous Cornbury would be so viewed automatically. Lovelace's initial moves were cautious, and he seemingly preferred to learn something of the temperament and complexion of the colony's politics rather than throw himself bodily

[24] Robert Livingston to Fitz-John Winthrop, May 11, 1702, and December 29, 1702, Winthrop Papers, XIV, 158, 159; Robert Livingston to William Lowndes, June 2, 1707, Public Record Office, Treasury 1: 102, pp. 104–5.
[25] *Ibid.*

into the arms of one faction or another.[26] Before Lovelace could put any program into effect, however, he died, and the government was placed in the hands of a caretaker administration pending the arrival of a new Governor, Robert Hunter.

Hunter's debarkation in New York in July 1710 marked the end of two decades of intense factionalism based primarily on the events of 1689–91. He encouraged the growth of a much healthier political outlook as he slowly and painfully pieced together a political machine. After seven years of labor, he evolved a working alliance of Hudson Valley landowners and several Long Island leaders. The opposition now came from New York City and Albany merchants. Thus the basis of political activity had been altered from an ideological to an economic one. By carefully concerting imperial and local needs and desires, Hunter accomplished much of his program, despite the handicap of a lack of financial support from the English government. For the first time in two decades, New York's chief executive was an accomplished politician, not a factional leader. That this was recognized by the New York leaders was affirmed in the accolade which the Assembly delivered to Hunter upon his voluntary retirement from the governorship. This unique testimonial, authored by Robert Livingston and Lewis Morris, declared: "You have governed well and wisely, like a prudent Magistrate, like an affectionate Parent, and wherever you go, and to whatever Station the divine Providence shall please to assign you, our sincere Desires and Prayers for the Happiness of you and yours shall always attend you."[27]

Thus, only after two decades elapsed did New York achieve the basic political maturity that had been found by Virginia after Bacon's Rebellion and by Massachusetts after the overthrow of the Dominion of New England.

[26] New York Council Minutes, January 20 and February 11, 1708/9 (Mss., New York State Library), X, 277, 287.

[27] *Journal of the . . . General Assembly of . . . New York,* I, 437.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Boston: A Topographical History. By Walter Muir Whitehill. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959. xxix + 244 pages, illus., maps, appendix, sources and notes, index. $4.95.)

Reviewed by James J. Heslin.

Over the years Boston has played an important role in American history and consequently a topographical history of the city is of more than local interest. In this volume Walter Muir Whitehill, Director and Librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, in an informed and witty manner, traces the history of Boston by means of the physical and resultant social changes which have affected the city.

In the 17th century Boston occupied less than half its present area. In 1630, when the first English settlers founded the town on the peninsula known as "Shawmut" to the Indians, three elevations called "Trimountain" dominated the site. Of these, only Beacon Hill, now reduced from its original height, exists today.

As Boston developed during the 1600s, the center of public activity was located at what is now State and Washington Streets. This was the scene of the open-air market; nearby was the Governor's house; and not far to the east was the town dock, in what is now Dock Square. Despite a relative paucity of descriptive records of Boston during the 17th century the author has managed to convey a sense of it at that time.

Fortunately, 18th-century records are more comprehensive and the growth of Boston is easier to follow. As its merchants profited from the flourishing maritime trade, buildings of a more substantial nature were erected in what had been fields and pasture land. By 1722 there were nearly three thousand houses in Boston but, by the middle of the century, Boston had lost its position as the largest town in British North America to Philadelphia. This temporary decline in the rate of population growth reduced the need for more land and thus, until the early 1800s, Boston did not extend beyond its original boundaries.

For a decade after the Revolution Boston continued its placid pace. Despite the lag in population increase, however, Boston was prosperous—a prosperity still based on its overseas trade. This state of affairs made it possible for the gifted young architect, Charles Bulfinch, to design the elegant buildings for which he became famous. The fires which plagued Boston with dismal regularity also conveniently provided Bulfinch with newly exposed streets and squares on which to build. Bulfinch, as Mr. Whitehill aptly observes, made a lasting mark on the topography and buildings of Boston and his labors mark the transition from an 18th-century town to a 19th-century city, chartered as such in 1822.

The increase in population during the 19th century, primarily because of heavy immigration, caused a demand for more building space. The entrance of various railway lines into the city markedly affected the topography of Boston as coves and marshes were filled in to provide land for tracks and terminals. Some of this fill came from hills within the city and by the latter part of the 19th century the appearance of Boston had greatly changed. During this time, for example, the Back Bay was literally turned from water to land and a fine new residential district created.

At present, as with so many urban centers, Boston is grappling with various problems in planning further expansion and construction. The author hopes that the result will not be in glaring contrast with the old but rather will produce a harmony which will preserve the individual flavor of the city. So delightfully has the course of Boston's topographical evolution been told in this attractive book, generously supplied with maps and other illustrative material, that the reader cannot but echo Mr. Whitehill's hope.

Public Health in the Town of Boston, 1630–1822. By John B. Blake. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959. [Harvard Historical Studies, No. 72.] x + 275 pages, appendices, biblio. notes, index. $6.50.)

Reviewed by Gertrude L. Annan, *Librarian, New York Academy of Medicine.*

This well-documented study is rewarding both to the historian and to the general reader. The author has tapped original sources and brought together fresh information, scattered through records printed and in manuscript. Emphasis is wisely placed on sanitation for the early years, and the heroes are the Selectmen whose efforts to prevent the frightening epidemics of smallpox were more determined and successful than those of authorities in a number of English cities, according to statistics quoted by Dr. Blake.

Smallpox was of course the great scourge of the colonies, and the inoculation controversy raged heatedly in Boston. The many tracts of the 1720s and 1730s are well known, and the author has told the story briefly, providing a more detailed account of the less-known events of later decades—an account which offers us insight into the effect of such epidemics. Fear brought many from outside the city anxious for inoculation. Fear of spreading the contagion prevented authorization of needed inoculation-hospitals where patients, inoculated with smallpox matter, endured usually milder forms of the disease. In 1773 some citizens set up a hospital for that purpose; other citizens burned it down. Yet in 1774

the official census showed that "By June 30 . . . there had been 699 cases of natural smallpox with 124 deaths, and 4,977 cases of inoculated with 46 deaths." Nevertheless, fear and the cost deterred wide acceptance. We who are accustomed to the small inconvenience of vaccination would not be eager to spend a month or more in an inoculation-hospital at the price of "five pounds, 15 shillings per person." The government bore the expense of some of the needy. A bill from Samuel Danforth to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, undated, amounted to £4 10s for inoculating 10 persons—no small sum in those days.

Inoculation played its part during the Revolutionary War. The danger of infected troops spreading the disease over the countryside induced the General Court of Boston in 1776 to empower the county courts "to allow inoculation hospitals in such places and under such regulations as the justices deemed most convenient and safe." Complaints of badly managed hospitals led to the enactment of new regulations, says Dr. Blake, by the Massachusetts legislature, April 11, 1777. (Identical rules, however, had been published as early as September 1776 in a broadside issued by the Worcester County Court of General Sessions, a copy of which, in the library of the New York Academy of Medicine, was reprinted in the *Academy Bookman*, Vol. 2 (1949), No. 2, pp. 14–16.) A few years later inoculation became well established and the inoculation-hospitals accepted, if not enjoyed, by the patients. One wrote: "Pinch'd with symptoms, chill'd for want of fuel, / Made lean by Jallop, salts and water Gruel, / For full three weeks with Patience we have borne / To be from roast-meat, toast and coffee torn."

Smallpox was not the only disease to inflict the population of Boston, but it was the most insistent and frightening, and we find it threading through this story until the introduction of vaccination. Dr. Blake does not neglect the other epidemics and their toll, and he shows the changing pattern of public health control, from the valiant struggle of the Selectmen to the efforts of the Board of Health appointed in 1799 as a result of the yellow fever epidemic of the previous year. The Board, composed chiefly of merchants and traders, worked closely with the physicians, and in their turn they were replaced in 1824 by a newly organized sanitary department which would face, no doubt, the future invasion of cholera, not foreseen in the period covered by this volume.

The appendices provide the statistics of smallpox inoculation, mortality statistics of Boston, 1701–1774, 1812–1821, and a lengthy note on sources. It is perhaps carping to wonder why Dr. Blake neglected the libraries of New York in his otherwise-thorough coverage of the subject. The rich collections of this city have garnered much of the matter of American history, and items of Boston and its worthies are not lacking. One of the treasures of the New York Academy of Medicine Library is a collection of 14 tracts on inoculation which had been in the possession

of Judge Samuel Sewall who, Dr. Blake says, "well symbolizes one aspect of this change" from the religious to the secular. That these tracts belonged to him emphasizes that statement.

This book, readable and scholarly, is important to anyone interested in the history of this country. He will learn of "noxious trades," "exhalations from foul substances," "unwholesome effluvia," and the never-ending fight for cleanliness and disease-prevention.

Medicine and Society in America, 1660–1860. By Richard Harrison Shryock. (New York: New York University Press, 1960. [Anson G. Phelps Lectureship in Early American History.] viii + 182 pages, notes, index. $4.00.)

Reviewed by Gertrude L. Annan, *Librarian, New York Academy of Medicine.*

This small volume, intended for the general reader and the interested physician and student rather than for the historian of medicine, provides three vignettes on separate themes for the period prior to 1820, and a fourth bringing the three together for the years 1820 to 1860. With a casual style the author has succeeded in bringing together a surprising amount of information. The general reader will perhaps enjoy most the first and third lectures which relate to the origins of the medical profession and public health. The physician reader will thoughtfully appreciate the second and fourth lectures on medical science, and on medicine and society in transition.

Dr. Shryock illuminates the early American medical scene with his knowledge of non-medical American history and the essential background of European medicine. In the first lecture an account of the status of physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries in England leads into the story of the practitioners in the colonies, their education and usual lack of it, the apprentice system, and efforts to improve medical care. After 1730 young men from the colonies sought real professional training abroad and returned to found hospitals and medical schools which flourished by the end of the century, together with a few medical societies instrumental in raising standards through attempts to regulate licensing procedures. In 1753 Dr. William Douglass, European-trained, wrote: "Frequently there is more danger from the Physician, than from the Distemper." By the early 19th century, however, Dr. Chapman could comment optimistically that native physicians might be less erudite than Europeans but "in penetration and in promptness of remedial resources . . . we are perhaps unrivaled."

The lecture on "Medical Thought and Practice, 1660–1820," will surprise some readers with the many references to the Rev. Cotton

Mather, familiar usually in a different guise. The medical reader will be particularly grateful for a brief summary of the various medical theories, systems, and schools of thought, and for an excellent discussion of the theories and practice of that influential physician, Benjamin Rush, of whom Dr. Shryock writes, "What a strange combination was his simultaneous advocacy in 1793, of enlightened means of preventing disease and of sanguinary methods for curing it." He concludes that "Rush commands a certain respect as a medical thinker," and likens an element of his thinking to the now-current views of Hans Selye and J. S. L. Browne of Montreal.

The lecture on "Health and Disease" dwells not only upon the ills most prevalent, or most complained of, but also upon the various agencies which affected health in urban and rural areas. Personal hygiene, sanitation, an increasing awareness of the need for social welfare, health insurance, and preventive measures, at least succeeded in lessening the frightful mortality of children under ten. "After having experienced the most extreme dangers from disease in some of the early settlements, American society had gone a long way by 1800 toward achieving at least a parity with advanced European nations in its health record. . . . Ironically enough, the only risks peculiar to the United States in 1800 . . . were those involved in an especially heroic type of medical practice [extreme bleeding and purging]. . . . But no one will ever know just what impact heroic practice had on American vital statistics: therapy was never listed among the causes of death."

The threads of the first three chapters are woven together in the fourth —a penetrating study of the trends of the period as they affected medicine: first, romanticism, prudery, and sentimentality; then the influence of the "Paris school" and the beginning of medical research in this country; finally the serious proliferation of low-grade medical schools and the plethora of medical sects which developed in reaction to the all-too-"heroic" medical practices of bleeding and purging. The picture was soon to change for the better, thanks partly to the enthusiasm of the young men returning from Paris. Surgery in particular had improved, and there were several skilled and daring operators such as New York's Valentine Mott, and J. Marion Sims whose statue stands at the edge of Central Park on Fifth Avenue, facing 103d Street. The discovery of ether anesthesia belongs to this period, as does the start of specialization and specialized hospitals. Perhaps one of the most important actions was the founding of the American Medical Association in 1847—a most needed "agent of genuine reform." Dr. Shryock ends: "We can now see . . . that science was moving . . . toward the creation of a type of medicine which would eventually exert a profound influence on the health of the American people."

This book deserves a wide audience, and it is surely niggling to point

out petty slips. It may be worth noting to a New York reader, however, that the New York Academy of Medicine was founded a few months before the first meeting of the American Medical Association in 1847, not in 1849 as cited, and the New York Medical Society of which John Stearns was president in 1818 was the Medical Society of the State of New York. The identity of the early medical societies in this city is confusing, so that exact titles are warranted. Also, it should have been made clear that the volume- and page-citation for the Stearns quotation (Chapter I, note 32) is to the 1868 edition of Stearns's book, for the earlier edition has neither volume number nor continuous pagination. A typographical error appears on page 62 where Isaac Ball's name is spelled Bull.

Massachusetts Shipping 1697–1714. A Statistical Study. By Bernard Bailyn and Lotte Bailyn. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959. xi + 148 pages, 27 statistical tables, index. $5.00.)

Reviewed by Walter Muir Whitehill, *Director and Librarian, Boston Athenæum.*

This book is an admirable and unusual piece of family collaboration. Professor Bailyn knows as much as anyone about 17th-century New England merchants; his wife, who is not a historian, is on familiar terms with IBM machines. By pooling their talents, they have squeezed many new and valuable conclusions from the familiar Massachusetts Shipping Register, 1697–1714, which, being preserved in the Masachusetts Archives, has long been pecked at by local historians of New England towns.

After 1789 a maritime historian in New England has customs records as a tolerable guide: in the colonial period he is reduced to stray scraps of information. He may from chance references know the names of vessels or their owners, but he has little means of appraising their significance in relative terms. Although he learns from local histories that a certain vessel was owned in Boston, that another was built at Newbury, and still another made a voyage to Surinam, he cannot appraise the importance of these scattered facts in the economy of New England, or, indeed, discover whether in terms of English merchant-shipping these colonial ventures amount to a hill of beans.

It occurred to Bernard Bailyn, while preparing his *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* that, by summarizing and tabulating the information contained in the 1697–1714 Shipping Register, he might discover in general terms how big a "big" New England shipowner was, how many ships he owned, whether ownership was concentrated in a few hands or widely distributed, where ships were built, how

large they were—in short he might gain some sense of the scale and magnitude of Massachusetts shipping at one stage of colonial life. On trying it, he found that one man with a lead pencil could not accomplish the tabulation necessary to answer such questions. He put the project aside. Now, in collaboration with his wife and an IBM machine, he has found many answers. In a seven-page Appendix, "A Note on Procedure," the Bailyns tell how their twenty-seven statistical tables were achieved. The unusual information presented in this Note is itself of the highest importance to anyone interested in historical techniques, whether he cares about colonial shipping or not. Indeed, any lazy historian, with a distaste for literary craftsmanship, who may have day-dreamed about a grant that would permit him to afford the use of an IBM machine as an easy path to reputation, would be disillusioned by this book.

The result of the method as used by the Bailyns, however, is a model of compressed clarity. Preceding the twenty-seven statistical tables, to which the frank note on the procedure that produced them is appended, are brief chapters indicating the conclusions suggested by them. After a description of the Register that is the source, follows an account of Massachusetts shipping in 1698—the dimensions and manufacture of the fleet, owners and pattern of investment—and a summary of the years 1699 to 1714, emphasizing the acquisition of shipping, shipbuilding, investors and investment. In a confused subject that has previously been sketchily treated nothing could be more lucid or informative.

One learns, for example, that in 1702 "only Bristol, the second largest port in England, was superior in shipping to Boston." There was, of course, a great gulf between the 71,977 tons of London shipping and the 10,299 tons owned in Bristol. Boston's fleet of 6,443 tons was, however, greater than the shipping of Yarmouth, Liverpool, Hull, Exeter, Scarborough and Whitby. "Of the other American towns in competition with Boston," Professor Bailyn writes, "only New York was a serious contender. New York's capacity in this period was estimated, rather generously, by Lord Bellomont in 1700, presumably on the basis of an examination of the shipping registers. He reported that the province of New York owned 124 vessels, as opposed to Boston's 194; only 6 of them, as opposed to Boston's 25, were over 100 tons. When he came to assess the comparative size of Boston's fleet it was not New York or any other colony he chose as a basis of comparison, but the home islands: 'There are,' the Irish peer concluded, 'more good vessels belonging to the town of Boston than to all Scotland and Ireland.'"

There are many surprises in the 148 pages of this remarkable little book. One learns, for example, that the largest shipowner in Boston in 1698 was an almost unknown figure, Samuel Lillie, who played no role in public life and founded no shipping dynasty. Lillie was the Boston-born son of a cooper. He followed his father's trade. Nevertheless in 1698 he held over twice as much tonnage as his nearest competitor, Andrew

Belcher. Like some holders of common stocks in the late 1920s, his empire proved illusory, for in 1707 he went bankrupt. It would be impossible in a review to summarize the many contributions to our knowledge of colonial shipping made by this book; I can only urge everyone interested in the subject to buy and read it.

The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman: Studies in the Transmission, Development and Circumstance of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II until the War with the Thirteen Colonies. By CAROLINE ROBBINS. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959. viii + 462 pages, biblio., index. $10.00.)

Reviewed by PHILIP L. WHITE, *Assistant Professor of History, The University of Chicago.*

The 18th-century Commonwealthmen were the intellectuals who maintained the liberal ideas of the English Civil War and transmitted them to the founding fathers of the United States. Although they achieved nothing of consequence in England, Professor Robbins affirms, their activity "served to maintain a revolutionary tradition and to link the . . . English struggles against tyranny in one century with . . . American efforts for independence in another. The American constitution employs many of the devices which the Real Whigs [or Commonwealthmen] vainly besought Englishmen to adopt and in it must be found their abiding memorial."

In view of the stress placed on this thesis, it seems unfortunate that Professor Robbins has given us neither a clear statement of the political heritage which the Commonwealthmen received from the Civil War era nor a close analysis of how that heritage found its way into the United States Constitution. What she has done is to examine the maintenance and development of the liberal tradition in England between 1660 and about 1780. Thus, she takes up the movement after it had lost its importance in England and traces it to the time when it regained importance in conjunction with the American Revolution. She drops it, however, before the writing of the Constitution and, in fact, without ever really leaving England. There is no consideration of the impact of the English liberal tradition on the development of American thought except for some very generalized statements and occasional notations that a particular Commonwealthman, for example, knew Franklin or was read by Jefferson.

What she has done is, nevertheless, of considerable value. Because it is clear that the liberal heritage so largely rejected in England after 1660 was kept alive, developed, and ultimately employed by the Americans, it is highly useful to know *how* the ideas were kept alive, *how* they developed in the hands of liberal or radical thinkers, and to get some ideas

as to how the tradition came to America. To serve this multiple purpose, Professor Robbins has given us biographical sketches, summaries of the thought and estimates of the influence of virtually all liberal, and some not so liberal, writers in England from 1660 to 1780. Such giants as Milton, Locke, Hume, and Adam Smith come under consideration, but the favorites of Professor Robbins are such lesser figures as Robert Molesworth, Thomas Pownall, and Francis Hutcheson. Excessive attention to still lesser figures, frequent allusion to obscure persons and events, and a cumbersome style make the reading difficult at times, but the research reflected establishes this as a book to be compared to Joseph Dorfman's volumes on American economic thought.

Among the ideas of the Commonwealthmen rejected in England but popular in America were separation of powers, rotation in office, a more extended suffrage, more equitable allocation of legislative representation, more frequent elections, opposition to colonialism, antipathy to mercantilism, freedom of thought in general and of religion in particular, secularization of education. The socio-economic egalitarianism urged by some Civil War radicals was distinctly muted by the Commonwealthmen as by their American counterparts.

Particularly interesting to the reviewer was the disproportionate representation among the Commonwealthmen of Scotsmen, Protestant Irish, and, in England, of religious nonconformists. Like the American colonists, these were all "out-groups" resentful of domination by the conforming English. That so many American colonists had come from these minority groups and lived in America under political conditions similar to those known by their ancestors in the British Isles helps to explain why among Americans the liberal heritage expressed majority rather than minority opinion.

General John Glover and His Marblehead Mariners. By George Athan Billias. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1960. xii + 243 pages, illus., notes on sources, index. $5.00.)

Reviewed by North Callahan, *Associate Professor, New York University, and author of* Henry Knox: General Washington's General.

With each new book on the American Revolution, more perspective is added to this war, which was not only a vital phase of our early history, but which also forms an interesting subject for exciting reading. Looking back through the smoke and haze of subsequent conflicts, one finds a wholesomeness about the Revolution that is as refreshing as martial strife can be.

This book by George Athan Billias, an associate professor at the University of Maine, is no exception to the excellent historical and literary fare most of the recent books in this field have furnished. Written

with relish and based on sound research, it brings to life a hitherto neglected general of our Continental Army and throws new light on the warfare itself. Both the specialized as well as lay reader will profit from it.

General John Glover, as Dr. Billias well points out, is a biography of a military unit as well as of a man. Sometimes when an author is faced with a dearth of details about the figure of whom he is writing, it is necessary and proper to include general information about the environment of the subject, especially when such is important and interesting. What did Glover do? Well, in part, after the Battle of Long Island in the torrid summer of 1776, Glover and his variegated regiment of Marblehead fishermen rescued some 9,000 of Washington's fleeing army by ferrying them across the East River from Brooklyn to Kip's Bay under cover of a fog which only Providence could have afforded for the occasion. Then on the icy Christmas night of that same year, Glover and his hardy mariners handled the broad Durham boats which carried the shivering patriots across the Delaware River, while stout Henry Knox stood on the shore and in his thunderous voice relayed the commands of Washington so they could be heard by the troops over the roar of the wind and the cracking of the ice. Glover's admirable delaying action by his outnumbered men against the enemy while they were landing at Pelham Bay was another noteworthy achievement, which won for these men from Marblehead, Massachusetts, the well-earned sobriquet of our "first amphibious regiment."

Glover was born in Salem, was a short, stocky, "tough little terrier" of a man, whose occupation as a shoemaker gave rise to the permissible pun that "he left his awl for his country" when he went into the army. His men could handle oars as well as muskets and were dressed in blue jackets, white caps, and tarred fishing trousers. When this oddly dressed crew came into contact with the colorfully clad, light-hued-long-fringed-hunting-shirted frontier Virginia riflemen of Daniel Morgan at Cambridge in the summer of 1775, it is little wonder that the two contingents looked askance at each other, then soon tangled with fists. Washington himself is said to have separated them by bumping some sturdy heads together.

As Dr. Billias interestingly shows, Glover contributed to the growth of our navy as well as to the early victories of our army. He commanded the first naval ship, *Hannah*, and helped the versatile Virginian who commanded everything we had—which often was all too little—to form the American navy in embryo. The peacetime navy was to assume a formal aspect under Secretary of War Henry Knox. But amphibious craft from Dunkirk to D-Day did not do their jobs better than Glover's tiny navy in its storied days.

Like other officers of the Revolution who smarted under hardships and lack of recognition by promotion, Glover left the army after the Battle of Trenton in which he figured actively; but he could not stay out,

so returned and took part in the operations against Burgoyne. Here his chief contribution, however, seems to have been in "compounding the felony" of General Gates who had let the British general off too easily at Saratoga. As it was, Glover and his men accompanied the surrendered redcoats to Boston and fawned upon the charming Burgoyne, while neglecting to guard and protect his soldiers.

The volume is a commendable work on the War for Independence, which bids fair to catch up with the "second American Revolution" one of these years of historical observance.

Turncoats, Traitors and Heroes. By John Bakeless. (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1959. 406 pages, notes on sources, index. $6.50.)

Reviewed by Fred J. Cook, *author of* What Manner of Men: Forgotten Heroes of the American Revolution.

The Revolution was one long series of plot and counterplot, a civil war in which families divided in allegiance, friends became foes and neighbors distrusted neighbors—sometimes not enough. This little-realized aspect of the great rebellion comes to life in John Bakeless's new book, a work of meticulous research that reveals just how widespread were the webs of espionage and counter-espionage.

Mr. Bakeless has set himself the task, something never quite attempted before, of covering the whole broad sweep of secret agents' activities on both sides during the Revolution. The result is a book that contains much new material about the daring exploits of secret agents and double agents and some plain, downright, unsuspected traitors.

Many of the more prominent episodes have of course been told before —the blundering and gallant futility of Nathan Hale; the deep-dyed conspiracy of Benedict Arnold and Major John André; the long-unsuspected activities of Samuel Woodhull as "Culper Sr." and Robert Townsend as "Culper Jr."; even the strange misadventure of Sergeant Major John Champe, who was all set to kidnap Benedict Arnold when he was ordered on shipboard and sent off with a British expeditionary force into Virginia.

But Mr. Bakeless greatly expands this familiar cast of characters. He has uncovered the exploits of Ann Bates, who made herself at home almost on the doorstep of Washington's headquarters, counted all the cannon and estimated with uncanny accuracy the strength of the patriot legions; Enoch Crosby, a fantastic spy-catcher who prated Tory doctrine with such zeal that he repeatedly cozened trusting conspirators out of their innermost secrets—and their muster roles; Captain David Gray, an almost incredibly successful double agent who for nearly two years

duped Sir Henry Clinton into believing he was a British spy when all the time he was using his entrée to Clinton's headquarters to keep Washington informed; and Isaac Barker, who made use of a "Stake & a Crutch & a stone Wall" to telegraph signals about what the British were doing in Newport.

All of this makes fascinating reading. In spots the pace of the narrative might have been improved had not Mr. Bakeless felt impelled to include every scrap of detail, even though at times the records are so sketchy that the spies involved cannot possibly be identified and even though most of these contributions do not seem to have been of great significance. He has a tendency at times, too, to exaggerate. Ann Bates was certainly a daring and successful female agent, but one may be pardoned for questioning whether she rates Mr. Bakeless's accolade as probably "the most successful female spy in history." In similar vein the author treats a British plot to kidnap Washington as if it almost certainly must have succeeded except for a fortuitous discovery. Yet, actually, even by his own account, it is quite evident that, while the British plotted hard, they were always several extremely difficult steps from the threshold of success.

These, however, are relatively minor flaws in a book that uncovers much fascinating new material about one of the least-known phases of the Revolution. Anyone who is interested in the history of the long, titanic struggle in which our nation was born will find that this is a book that fills in some important gaps in the record.

Alexander Hamilton: Portrait in Paradox. By JOHN C. MILLER. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959. xii + 659 pages, frontis., biblio., index. $8.50.)

Reviewed by HAROLD LARSON, *author of "The Birth and Parentage of Alexander Hamilton," "Alexander Hamilton: the Fact and Fiction of His Early Years," etc.*

Professor John C. Miller's theme in this book is the determination of Alexander Hamilton to strengthen and solidify the Federal Union. Each of the five parts of the volume concerns a major aspect of the Union while Hamilton provides the biographical background. Such an approach is stimulating and provocative, but the chapter headings are sometimes puzzling. To illustrate, Part I, "The Union Against Great Britain," includes a chapter on inflation and another on Hamilton's quarrel with Washington. And Part IV, "The Union Against Foreign Aggression," contains a chapter on the Whisky Rebellion in which the tax certainly involved a domestic and not a foreign product.

Mr. Miller writes well and knows his subject. In a clear and vivid ac-

count he traces Hamilton's career from the West Indies to Weehawken, avoiding the extremes of older studies by obvious friends or foes. Noteworthy is the treatment of Hamilton's political struggle with Governor Clinton over the acceptance by New York of the new Federal Constitution. Of interest also is his analysis of the rift which Hamilton brought about between the Schuyler and Livingston factions in the New York Federalists. The book ends on an impressive note with Hamilton dead but with "the American union, his noblest work" enduring still.

Mr. Miller's subtitle, *Portrait in Paradox,* is apt. For the irony of Hamilton's career was that he helped divide not only the Federalist party but also the American nation for which he sought strength through union. The author excels in portraying the political, economic and financial background of his hero, but he leaves largely unsolved the mystery as to what actually motivated the complex, contradictory and controversial character known as Alexander Hamilton.

This is a fine work. Only a few minor errors were noted, such as "1758" for 1759 (p. 3), "he" for "be" (p. 171), and "Ally" for "Aly" (p. 577). Documentation for each chapter, a classified bibliography, and a good index add to the value of the book.

Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine. By Alfred Owen Aldridge. (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1959. 348 pages, frontis., biblio. notes, index. $6.00.)

Reviewed by Edward W. Stitt, Jr., *President, Thomas Paine National Historical Association, New Rochelle.*

At long last, one hundred and fifty years after his solitary and unhonored death, we have a scholarly biography worthy of Thomas Paine. Professor Aldridge has steered a straight course between the great pamphleteer's uncritical admirers and his equally uncritical detractors who, misled by hatred, ignore the facts.

Paine's stormy life began in humble circumstances, and the futility of his efforts to help his fellow excise collectors led him to leave his native England. He came to this country after thirty-seven unsuccessful years but with an excellent sponsor. Benjamin Franklin described him in a letter of introduction as "an ingenious worthy young man." In a year's time Paine was to find a real opportunity to disclose his previously hidden talents.

His pamphlet, *Common Sense*, published in January 1776, first sounded the bugle call for American independence. Washington himself wrote that in Virginia it was "working a powerful change . . . in the minds of many men." Professor Aldridge quotes *The American Annual Register . . . for 1776*—one of several sources here used by a Paine biographer for

the first time—on the effect of Paine's stirring words: "When the first copies arrived in the American camp at Cambridge, they were perused with transport. An officer then in that army observed lately that a reinforcement of five thousand men would not have inspired the troops with equal confidence as this pamphlet did, in the justice of their cause and the probability of their ultimate success."

Throughout the times that tried men's souls Paine's vibrant words sustained the spirit of Washington's little army until the tide of battle turned. A fair-minded person, after reading Professor Aldridge's carefully documented book, must agree with his conclusion that Paine's "contribution to the propaganda of the American Revolution equaled that of Franklin to its diplomacy and that of Washington to its military strategy."

Returning to Europe, Paine wrote his *Rights of Man* in answer to Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. The English government prosecuted this vigorous pamphlet as a common libel and its author escaped only by crossing to France, where he was given French citizenship and elected to the General Convention. Imprisoned because he had opposed the execution of Louis XVI, he narrowly escaped the guillotine.

In prison Paine wrote *The Age of Reason*, a stinging attack on revealed religion and established churches. His enemies made it the basis for savage criticism although, as Professor Aldridge points out, they were more appalled by his political than his religious views. Like Jefferson and Franklin, Paine was a deist.

Returning to America in 1802 after fifteen years of absence, Paine's closing days were unhappy. While he was living on his farm in New Rochelle (a gift from the New York legislature for his outstanding services to the cause of American independence), a demented neighbor tried to shoot him, and an election official, who had been a Tory in 1776, refused him the right to vote. The Quakers in New York denied his dying request that he be buried in their cemetery. His body was interred in unhallowed ground on his farm in New Rochelle. For Paine the Biblical quotation: "A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country," was indeed true.

Although not emphasized in Professor Aldridge's excellent biography, it is perhaps in order to state that over the years public opinion in this country has gradually turned to a fairer view of Paine. He was even elected in 1952 to New York University's Hall of Fame. And, if this review of what should become the standard life of Paine leads readers to widen their knowledge of him, they will find that New Rochelle is at long last duly honoring her once-harassed prophet. A monument now marks his original grave; his cottage is preserved as a shrine; and a neighboring museum houses memorabilia of this long-neglected and unappreciated controversialist.

The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790–1830. By Richard C. Wade. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959. 362 pages, map, biblio. note, index. $6.00.)

Reviewed by Carlos R. Allen, Jr., *Department of History and Government, Colorado State University.*

Each decade produces its share of works on the history of the American frontier. This one makes a significant modification in the conventional Turnerian approach. Richard C. Wade has undertaken to make a detailed social, intellectual, economic, and political study of the five important transmontane cities of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, Lexington, and St. Louis. His approach and, for that matter, many of his conclusions follow the pattern set in Carl Bridenbaugh's monumental study of the five leading colonial cities. Professor Wade's volume demonstrates the importance of urban developments to the history of the frontier where urban settlements actually preceded rural clearings. In the case of these five important cities the rate of growth was staggering. Manufacturing, merchandising, commerce, and transportation are all studied in terms of each city. In their development, each of the cities was faced with all of the typically urban problems which earlier had plagued their Eastern prototypes. Problems involving water supply, police and fire protection, lighting, paving, health, and sanitation faced these cities early. Problems of finance and administration constantly besieged the city fathers. A large part of the amazing progress made by these urban areas resulted from a copying, partly unconsciously but more often intentional, of the examples of their older Eastern sisters, notably Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore.

The cultural role of the urban area is also well displayed. Without urban settlements, culture would have withered and died on the frontier. Part of the function of these five cities, and perhaps others as well, was to conserve, foster, and develop such artistic and intellectual life as survived west of the Appalachian Mountains. Along with this cultural development a rigid class structure was produced. Egalitarianism disappeared almost immediately in the Western city. This was no leveling society; social lines were rigidly drawn although there existed, to be sure, a high degree of movement from one class to another. Here again, one is forced to notice the similarity of the pattern to the history of older American urban areas.

Professor Wade has divided his story into two chronological parts. The first, extending from 1790 to 1815, traces the foundation of small towns and the solution by some of them of immediate problems as they grew into cities. The second part, from 1815 to 1830, traces their successes and final establishment as leaders in the area of the Old Northwest. This is a sound monograph, well conceived and well produced. It is the sort of study which students of American civilization as well as of the

frontier must read, and which will add to a re-evaluation of traditional views of the frontier. It must be regretted that so detailed a study should be published without a detailed bibliography.

The Philosophy of Abraham Lincoln in His Own Words. Compiled by William E. Baringer. (Indian Hills, Colorado: Falcon's Wing Press, 1959. xxxii + 167 pages. $3.50.)

Reviewed by William J. Wolf, Th.D., S.T.D., *Professor of Systematic Theology, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass., and author of* The Almost Chosen People: A Study of the Religion of Abraham Lincoln.

In 1958 the Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission adopted as one of its objectives, "to emphasize the principles and ideals exemplified by Abraham Lincoln and their application to the present day." Professor William E. Baringer of the University of Florida was called to become the Executive Director of the Commission. He has worked through the eight volumes of Lincoln's *Collected Works* in the authoritative 1953 Rutgers Edition to produce this short compend of Lincoln utterance.

One covets for his fellow Americans more knowledge of Lincoln's own writing than the Springfield Farewell, the Gettysburg Address, the Letter to Mrs. Bixby, and the Second Inaugural. Yet one admits realistically that the eight-volume work will probably be read only by specialists. Here then we have a helpful compromise. This book deserves a wide audience and ought even to be required reading for all who have responsibility for interpreting the American scene—teachers, politicians, journalists, clergymen.

Professor Baringer has divided his material topically rather than chronologically into nine major categories: politics, slavery, law, American institutions, liberty, religion, labor, the Union and the War, and civil liberties. There is a useful section in the beginning on "Human Interest" which conveys some of Lincoln's delightful humor and local color and prepares the reader for the feast to follow. An index would have been helpful for this type of book.

"Sunset" Cox, Irrepressible Democrat. By David Lindsey. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1959. xx + 323 pages, biblio. notes, index. $5.00.)

Reviewed by David M. Ellis, *Professor of History, Hamilton College, and co-author of* A Short History of New York State.

The youthful Samuel Sullivan Cox in 1853 wrote a florid editorial on "A Great Old Sunset." A rival editor in Columbus, Ohio, dubbed him "Sunset" Cox, a nickname which aided the career of the good-tempered and literary-minded politician. Cox first served a central Ohio district between 1856 and 1864. After his defeat Cox moved to New York City where the Democratic chieftains offered him in 1868 another nomina-

tion to Congress in which he served as minority leader most of the time until 1889.

Professor Lindsey has written with objectivity and balance his biography of Cox. He does not exaggerate his importance, noting that Cox belonged "on the second rung of the ladder." The second part of the title "Irrepressible Democrat" singles out the main theme of Cox's life: his devotion to the Democratic Party. Cox, however, managed to keep on good terms with foes such as Lincoln and even Blaine. Following the Jefferson-Jackson tradition, Cox stood for States' rights and economy. In the 1850s he endorsed popular sovereignty as the best way of settling the slavery issue in the territories. He favored compromise in the crisis of 1860 but supported the Union after Fort Sumter.

Cox opposed the transformation of the war into a crusade for emancipation. Only with reluctance did he finally agree not to oppose the 13th Amendment. He fought hard for individual liberties. He opposed the arbitrary arrests of persons who criticized the conduct of the war, the suspension of habeas corpus and of opposition newspapers, and the censorship of newspapers. Naturally he opposed the reconstruction policies of Lincoln, Johnson, and the Radical Republicans. Cox favored hard money until the late 1870s when he flirted with the Bland silver bill. He was a consistent opponent of the high tariff and was delighted with Cleveland's message to Congress calling for tariff reform.

Cox reflected faithfully the opinions of his constituents. Although he had a safe district in New York City, he was careful to cultivate the Irish with appeals for Irish Home Rule and he denounced the anti-Semitic activities of the Tsarist government. Note that his concern for individual liberties was never broad enough to cover the Negroes. Lindsey claims that Cox had more concern than average for social welfare. He championed the cause of the letter-carriers and the Life-Saving Service, later the Coast Guard.

The author has maintained a nice balance between Cox's life and the general history of the period. His account of the election of 1876 does not seem to benefit from the findings of Vann Woodward. He might have found useful Lee Benson's *Merchants, Farmers, and Railroads* in understanding why Cox supported the Interstate Commerce Act. Students of New York history will find little new about state or city politics. After all Cox's heart was in Washington. He was quite willing to receive the support of Tammany Hall without worrying overmuch about its activities.

Perhaps it is churlish to expect more of Cox in an age not noted for its achievements or statesmen. Sufficient to say, Cox was outstanding compared with many of his contemporaries. An author of ten books, a lecturer famous for his wit and rhetoric, a gentleman of probity and refinement who did not stoop to corruption or vitriolic partisanship, Cox was an ornament in the Gilded Age.

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Volume XLIV, January–October 1960

INDEX

Adams, John, engraving of (repro.), 296
Adams, John and Abigail, correspondence of, with Thomas Jefferson, reviewed, 215–17
Aldridge, Alfred Owen, *Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine*, reviewed, 440–41
Allen, Carlos R., Jr., review by, 442–43
American Bible Society, book about, reviewed, 120–22
American Jewish history, books on, reviewed, 227–29
American Revolution, articles on, 43–71, 151–65; books about, reviewed, 118–19, 209–11, 436–39
Annan, Gertrude L., reviews by, 429–33
Arrington, Joseph Earl, "Otis A. Bullard's Moving Panorama of New York City," 309–35
Art, articles on, 43–71, 237–58, 309–35, 395–412; books about, reviewed, 219–22, 338–39
Arthur, Chester A., article on, 167–77; portrait of (repro.), 166
Artists, engravers, etc. (reproductions): John Cameron, 285; Alexander R. Cattley, 49, 50, 53, 56, 59, 61, 63, 64, 67, 68, 70; Carlton T. Chapman 193; E. N. Clark, 97; George V. Cooper, 285; Charles Copeland, 160; Nathaniel Currier, 348; Antoine Phillippe d'Orleans, 108; John Ward Dunsmore, 153; Asher B. Durand, 132; George Wharton Edwards, 394; James Eights, 83; John Hoppner, 72; William Howland, 311; Joseph Keppler, 373; Nicholas Biddle Kittell, 401, 404, 406, 411; W. E. Laragh, 195; John T. Little, 291; Rosa A. Livingston, 79; George L. Nelson, 164; Baroness Hyde de Neuville, 93, 100, 103; Charles Parsons, 348; R. H. Pease, 83; Henry R. Rittenberg, 185; Thomas Rowlandson, 240–45, 247, 248; C. B. F. de St. Memin, 296; Sarony & Major, 273, 277, 291; Robert Smirke, 254, 255, 257; Stringer & Townsend, 267; Gilbert Stuart, 132, 150; Bayard Taylor, 277; John Trumbull, 104–5; Sir David Wilkie, 249–53; Richard Westall, 254; Frederick Coffay Yohn, 42
Astor, William B., woodcut of (repro.), 354
Bacon's Rebellion, book about, reviewed, 208–9
Bailyn, Bernard, and Lotte Bailyn, *Massachusetts Shipping 1697–1714. A Statistical Study*, reviewed, 433–35
Bakeless, John, *Turncoats, Traitors and Heroes*, reviewed, 438–39
Baker, Charles E., book notices by, 231, 344
Barck, Dorothy C., *Some References for Genealogical Searching in New York State*, notice of, 344
Baringer, William E., comp., *The Philosophy of Abraham Lincoln in His Own Words*, reviewed, 443
Bell, Whitfield J., Jr., and Leonard W. Labaree, eds., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Vol. I, . . . 1706 through . . . 1734*, reviewed, 215–18
Bellomont, Earl of (Richard Coote), portrait of (repro.), 418
Belmont, August, photograph of (repro.), 354
"Benjamin Franklin Tracy, Secretary of the Navy, 1889–1893," by John K. Mahon, 179–201
Billias, George Athan, *General John Glover and His Marblehead Mariners*, reviewed, 436–38

Blake, John B., *Public Health in the Town of Boston, 1630–1822*, reviewed, 429–31
Bode, Carl, *The Anatomy of American Popular Culture, 1840–1861*, reviewed, 221–22
Bolingbroke, 3d Viscount (George Richard), portrait of (repro.), 72
Book Reviews and Notices:
The Adams-Jefferson Letters: The Complete Correspondence Between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams, 215–17
Alexander Hamilton: Portrait in Paradox, 439–40
American Jewry: Documents—Eighteenth Century, 228–29
The Anatomy of American Popular Culture, 1840–1861, 221–22
Baseball: The Early Years, 337–38
Blithe Dutchess: The Flowering of an American County from 1812, 119–20
Boston: A Topographical History, 428–29
Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States, 125–26
Constitutional Developments in New York 1777–1958: A Bibliography of Conventions and Constitutions with Selected References for Constitutional Research, 342–44
Cranberry Lake 1845–1959: An Adirondack Miscellany, 341–42
The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman: Studies in the Transmission, Development and Circumstance of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II until the War with the Thirteen Colonies, 435–36
The Electoral College, 222–23
The Era of Theodore Roosevelt, 1900–1912, 226–27
Essays in American Jewish History to Commemorate the Tenth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Jewish Archives, 227–29
Facts About the Presidents: A Compilation of Biographical and Historical Data, 340–41
From the Cannon's Mouth: The Civil War Letters of General Alpheus S. Williams, 127–28
Genealogical Research in England and Wales, 128
General John Glover and His Marble-Mariners, 436–38
George Catlin and the Old Frontier, 219–21
George Catlin: Episodes from "Life Among the Indians" and "Last Rambles," 219–21
George Croghan, Wilderness Diplomat, 115–117
The Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, 208–9
Guide to the Manuscript Maps in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, 231
A Guide to the Manuscript Collection of the New Jersey Historical Society, 231
Henry Hudson and the Dutch in New York, 344
The Jacksonian Era, 1828–1848, 123–24
John Paul Jones: A Sailor's Biography, 214–15
La Guardia: A Fighter Against His Times, 1882–1933, 339–40
The Little War of Private Post, 338–39
The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County, 336–37
Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine, 440–41
Martin Van Buren and the Making of the Democratic Party, 122–23
Massachusetts Shipping 1697–1714. A Statistical Study, 433–35
Medicine and Society in America, 1660–1860, 431–33
The Nation Takes Shape, 1789–1837, 218–19
Notebook of a Colonial Clergyman, Condensed from the Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, 211–14
Old Houses on Nantucket, 230–31
The Papers of Benjamin Franklin: Volume I, January 6, 1706 through December 31, 1734, 215–18
Peter Stuyvesant and His New York, 114–15
Philadelphia in the Romantic Age of Lithography: An illustrated history of early lithography in Philadelphia with a descriptive list of Philadel-

phia scenes made by Philadelphia lithographers before 1866, 344
The Philosophy of Abraham Lincoln in His Own Words, 443
Prologue to Revolution: Sources and Documents on the Stamp Act Crisis, 1764–1766, 209–11
Public Health in the Town of Boston, 1630–1822, 429–31
Risk and Technological Innovation: American Manufacturing Methods during the Nineteenth Century, 224–26
Robert Rogers of the Rangers, 117–18
Soldiers of the Word: The Story of the American Bible Society, 120–22
Some References for Genealogical Searching in New York State, 344
"*Sunset*" *Cox, Irrepressible Democrat*, 443–44
Things That Go Bump in the Night, 229–30
Third Parties in American Politics, 226
To Try Men's Souls: Loyalty Tests in American History, 206–7
Turncoats, Traitors and Heroes, 438–39
Uncle Sam: The Man and the Legend, 223–24
The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790–1830, 442–43
The Victor and the Spoils, 124–25
The War for the Union, Volume I: The Improvised War, 1861–1862, 126–27
What Manner of Men: Forgotten Heroes of the American Revolution, 118–19
Boston, books about, reviewed, 428–31
Brady, Mathew B., photograph by (repro.), 355
Breuer, Ernest Henry, *Constitutional Developments in New York 1777–1958: A Bibliography . . .*, reviewed, 342–44
Brevoort House, Fifth Avenue, NYC (illus.), 362
"The Britons Who Fought at Stony Point: Uniforms of the American Revolution," by Richard J. Koke, 43–71
Brun, Christian, *Guide to the Manuscript Maps in the William L. Clements Library . . .*, notice of, 231
Budka, Metchie J. E., transl. and ed., "Journey to Niagara, 1805, from the diary of Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz," 73–113
Bullard, George W., & Co., playbill of New York City panorama by (repro.), 334
Bullard, Otis A., article on New York City panorama by, 309–35; broadsides advertising panorama by (repro.), 308, 327; woodcut of portrait of (repro.), 311
Burroughs, Alan, review by, 221–22
Callahan, North, "Henry Knox, General Washington's General," 151–65; review by, 436–38
Cameron, John, lithograph by (repro.), 285
Cappon, Lester J., ed., *The Adams-Jefferson Letters . . .*, reviewed, 215–17
Carlson, Arthur B., book notice by, 231
Carosso, Vincent P., reviews by, 224–26, 340–41
Catlin, George, books about, reviewed, 219–21
Cattley, Alexander R., drawings of British uniforms in American Revolution by, article about, 43–71; (repro.), 49, 50, 53, 56, 59, 61, 63, 64, 67, 68, 70; photograph of (repro.), 47
Chagres, lithograph of (repro.), 267
Chapman, Carlton T., painting by (repro.), 193
Charleston, S.C., view of battery promenade during bombardment of Ft. Sumter (repro.), 360
Civil War, article on New York City's early reaction to, 349–62; books about, reviewed, 126–28
Clark, E. N., mural by (repro.), 97
Clews, James, portrait of (repro.), 236; Staffordshire residence of (repro.), 238
Clews, James and Ralph, article on Staffordshireware made by, 237–58; pottery mark of (repro.), 258
Cockran, Bourke, woodcut of (repro.), 381
Condon, Thomas J., "Politics, Reform and the New York City Election of 1886," 363–93
Cook, Fred J., *What Manner of Men: Forgotten Heroes of the American*

Revolution, reviewed, 118–19; review by, 438–39
Cooper, George V., lithograph of drawing by (repro.), 285
Coote, Richard, Earl of Bellomont, portrait of (repro.), 418
Copeland, Charles, painting by (repro.), 160
Cornbury, Viscount (Edward Hyde), portrait of (repro.), 424
Cox, Samuel Sullivan, biography of, reviewed, 443–44
Croghan, George, biography of, reviewed, 115–17
Croker, Richard, woodcut of (repro.), 381
Cromwell, Otelia, review by, 125–26
Cuneo, John R., *Robert Rogers of the Rangers,* reviewed, 117–18
Cunliffe, Marcus, *The Nation Takes Shape, 1789–1837,* reviewed, 218–19
Currier, Nathaniel, lithograph by (repro.), 348
Curti, Merle, *The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County,* reviewed, 336–37
Desmond, Alice Curtis, review by, 118–19
DeWitt, Simeon, map of New York State by (repro.), 88–89
Doberstein, John W., and Theodore G. Tappert, eds., *Notebook of a Colonial Clergyman, Condensed from the Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg,* reviewed, 211–14
"Dr. Syntax & Company: The 'Literary Series' on Old Blue China," by Dr. Arthur H. Merritt, 237–58
"Dr. Syntax" series of Anglo-American Staffordshire (repro.), 240–248
"Don Quixote" series of Anglo-American Staffordshire (repro.), 254, 255, 257
d'Orleans, Antoine Phillippe, painting by (repro.), 108
Douglas, Justice William O., review by, 206–7
Dunsmore, John Ward, painting by (repro.), 153
Duprey, Kenneth, *Old Houses on Nantucket,* reviewed, 230–31
Durand, Asher B., portrait by (repro.), 132
Dutchess County, New York, book about, reviewed, 119–20
Edwards, George Wharton, portrait by (repro.), 394
Eights, James, lithograph from drawing by (repro.), 83
Ellis, David M., review by, 443–44
Female Institute of University of the Pacific (illus.), 293
Fish, Hamilton, woodcut of (repro.), 355
Flexner, Eleanor, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States,* reviewed, 125–26
Fowler, Albert Vann, ed., *Cranberry Lake 1845–1959: An Adirondack Miscellany,* reviewed, 341–42
Franklin, Benjamin, Volume I (1706–1734) of *Papers* of, reviewed, 215–18
Frost, James A., review by, 122–23
Gardner, David E., and Frank Smith, *Genealogical Research in England and Wales,* reviewed, 128
Genealogical research, books on, reviewed, 128, 344
George, Henry, article on 1886 Mayoralty candidacy of, 363–93; cartoon of (repro.), 373; photograph of (repro.), 369
Gibson, John M., *Soldiers of the Word: The Story of the American Bible Society,* reviewed, 120–22
Giddings, T. H., review by, 214–15
Glover, Gen. John, biography of, reviewed, 436–38
Goff, John S., "President Arthur's Domestic Legislative Program," 167–77; review by, 222–23
"Gold Rush Letters of the Reverend James Rogers," edited by Marie Rogers Vail, 259–95
Grinnell, Moses A., woodcut of (repro.), 355
Haberly, Loyd, reviews by, 219–21
Hamilton, Alexander, biography of, reviewed, 439–40
Hamilton, Milton W., *Henry Hudson and the Dutch in New York,* notice of, 344; review by, 117–18
Harrison, Benjamin, portrait of (repro.), 185
Henderson, Robert W., review by, 337–38
"Henry Knox, General Washington's General," by North Callahan, 151–65

Heslin, James J., "'Peaceful Compromise' in New York City, 1860–1861," 349–62; reviews by, 124–25, 126–27, 338–39, 428–29
Hewitt, Abram S., photograph of (repro.), 385; cartoon on victory of, in 1886 Mayoralty election, 389
Holland Land Company's Hotel, Utica, N.Y. (illus.), 93
Hooker, Helene Maxwell, reviews by, 226–27
Hopper-Zabriskie-Tolles house (illus.), 79
Hoppner, John, portrait by (repro.), 72
Howland, William, woodcut by (repro.), 311
Hudson, Henry, notice of book about, 344
Hyde, Edward, Viscount Cornbury, portrait of (repro.), 424
Hyman, Harold M., *To Try Men's Souls: Loyalty Tests in American History*, reviewed, 206–7
Iowa (battleship), painting of (repro.), 195
Jagendorf, Moritz, review by, 229–30
"James Monroe and the Furniture Fund," by Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., 133–49
Jefferson, Thomas, correspondence of, with Abigail and John Adams, reviewed, 215–17
Jones, John Paul, biography of, reviewed, 214–15
Jones, Louis C., *Things That Go Bump in the Night*, reviewed, 229–30
"Journey to Niagara, 1805, from the diary of Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz," translated and edited by Metchie J. E. Budka, 73–113
Kane, Joseph Nathan, *Facts About the Presidents . . .*, reviewed, 340–41
Keppler, Joseph, cartoon by (repro.), 373
Kessler, Henry H., and Eugene Rachlis, *Peter Stuyvesant and His New York*, reviewed, 114–15
Ketchum, Alton, *Uncle Sam: The Man and the Legend*, reviewed, 223–24
Kittell, Nicholas Biddle, article on, 395–412; portraits by (repro.), 401, 404, 406, 411; portrait of (repro.), 394
Knox, Henry, article on, 151–65; bringing cannon from Ticonderoga to Boston (illus.), 153; portrait of (repro.), 150
Koke, Richard J., "The Britons Who Fought at Stony Point: Uniforms of the American Revolution," 43–71; review by, 119–20
Kurtz, W., photograph by (repro.), 385
Labaree, Leonard W., and Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., eds., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Vol. I, . . . 1706 through . . . 1734*, reviewed, 215–18
Laragh, W. E., painting by (repro.), 195
Larson, Harold, review by, 439–40
Leder, Lawrence H., "The Politics of Upheaval in New York, 1689–1709," 413–27; reviews by, 208–9, 215–18
Lincoln, Abraham, book on the philosophy of, reviewed, 443
Lindsey, David, *"Sunset" Cox, Irrepressible Democrat*, reviewed, 443–44
Little, John T., lithograph of drawing by (repro.), 291
Livingston, Robert, portrait of (repro.), 413
Livingston, Robert R., engraving of (repro.), 296; notes (1775) of, on nonexportation policy, 296–307
Livingston, Rosa A., drawing by (repro.), 79
Low, Seth, article about, 5–41; photograph of (repro.), 4
Loyalty tests, book about, reviewed, 206–7
McClellan, George B., Jr., portrait of (repro.), 33
McCracken, Harold, *George Catlin and the Old Frontier*, reviewed, 219–21
MacCracken, Henry Noble, *Blithe Dutchess: The Flowering of an American County from 1812*, reviewed, 119–20
McRoberts, Charity Davis, portrait of (repro.), 406
Mahan, Alfred T., portrait of (repro.), 185
Mahon, John K., "Benjamin Franklin Tracy, Secretary of the Navy, 1889–1893," 179–201
Maine (battleship), building of (illus.), 193
Mann, Arthur, *La Guardia: A Fighter Against His Times, 1882–1933*, reviewed, 339–40
Maps, of New York State (1804), 88–89; notice of book about, 231

Marcus, Jacob Rader, ed., *American Jewry: Documents–Eighteenth Century*, reviewed, 228–29; *Essays in American Jewish History . . .*, reviewed, 227–29
Marcy, William Learned, portrait of (repro.), 401; book about, reviewed, 124–25
Mason, Bernard, "Robert R. Livingston and the Non-Exportation Policy: Notes for a Speech in the Continental Congress, October 27, 1775," 296–307
Mason, Ellen McRoberts, portraits of (repro.), 404
Mason, Nathaniel R., portrait of (repro.), 411
Massachusetts, books about, reviewed, 230–31, 428–31, 433–35
Merritt, Dr. Arthur H., "Dr. Syntax & Company: The 'Literary Series' on Old Blue China," 237–58
Miller, John C., *Alexander Hamilton: Portrait in Paradox*, reviewed, 439–40
Minick, Rachel, reviews by, 341–44
Monroe, James, article about, 133–49; clocks and vases purchased for (illus.), 137, 141; Paris residence of (illus.), 134, 135; portrait of (repro.), 132
"Montpelier," home of Henry Knox, in Thomaston, Maine (illus.), 160
Morgan, Edmund S., ed., *Prologue to Revolution*, reviewed, 209–11
Morison, Samuel Eliot, *John Paul Jones: A Sailor's Biography*, reviewed, 214–15
Mowry, George E., *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt, 1900–1912*, reviewed, 226–27
Muhlenberg, Henry Melchior, book on journals of, reviewed, 211–14
Murphy, Charles F., portrait of (repro.), 33
Nash, Howard P., Jr., *Third Parties in American Politics*, reviewed, 226
Nelson, George L., lithograph by (repro.), 164
Neuville, Baroness Hyde de, drawings by (repro.), 93, 100, 103
Nevins, Allan, *The War for the Union, Vol. I: The Improvised War, 1861–1862*, reviewed, 126–27
New York City
Articles: Otis A. Bullard's panorama of, 309–35; Seth Low, Mayor (1902–1903) of, 5–41; 1886 Mayoralty election in, 363–93; "peaceful compromise" of 1860–1861 of, 349–62
Book Reviews: 114–15, 120–22, 339–40
Views, maps, etc.: Brevoort House, Fifth Ave., 362; lower Manhattan (1850) showing route depicted by Bullard's panorama, 315; northward from Battery Park, showing waterfront in late 1850s, 348
The New-York Historical Society's Gold Medal for Achievement in History (illus.), 205; presentation of, to Dr. R. W. G. Vail, 203–5
New York State (and Province)
Articles: 1805 journey to Niagara, 73–113; political upheaval (1689–1709) in, 413–27; Revolutionary War uniforms of Britons at Stony Point, 43–71
Book Reviews: 119–20, 341–44
Views, maps, etc: Exchange St., Geneva, 100; Holland Land Company's hotel, Utica, 93; map of New York, 1804, 88–89; Niagara Falls, 104–5, 108; salt spring near Syracuse, 97; State St., Albany, 83
Niagara Falls, journey to, 73–113; views of (repro.), 104–5, 108
"Nicholas Biddle Kittell (1822–1894): A Forgotten New York State Artist," by Helen Burr Smith, 395–412
Niemcewicz, Julian Ursyn, journey to Niagara, 1805, by, 73–113; portrait of (repro.), 72
Ohio (steamship), pen and wash drawing of (repro.), 262
"Otis A. Bullard's Moving Panorama of New York City," by Joseph Earl Arrington, 309–35
Paine, Thomas, biography of, reviewed, 440–41
Panorama of New York City, George W. Bullard & Co.'s, playbill of (repro.), 334; Otis A. Bullard's, article on, 309–35
Parsons, Charles, lithograph from drawing by (repro.), 348
Parsons, John E., review by, 127–28
"'Peaceful Compromise' in New York City, 1860–1861," by James J. Heslin, 349–62
Pease, R. H., lithograph by (repro.), 83
"The Politics of Upheaval in New York, 1689–1709," by Lawrence H. Leder, 413–27

"Politics, Reform and the New York City Election of 1886," by Thomas J. Condon, 363–93
Post, Charles Johnson, *The Little War of Private Post*, reviewed, 338–39
"President Arthur's Domestic Legislative Program," by John S. Goff, 167–77
Quaife, Milo M., ed., *From the Cannon's Mouth: The Civil War Letters of Gen. Alpheus S. Williams*, reviewed, 127–28
Rachlis, Eugene, and Henry H. Kessler, *Peter Stuyvesant and His New York*, reviewed, 114–15
Raesly, Ellis L., review by, 114–15
Remini, Robert V., Martin *Van Buren and the Making of the Democratic Party*, reviewed, 122–23; review by, 123–24
Ricker, Carrie Lillian, portrait of (repro.), 411
Rittenberg, Henry R., portraits by (repro.), 166, 185
"Robert R. Livingston and the Non-Exportation Policy: Notes for a Speech in the Continental Congress, October 27, 1775," by Bernard Mason, 296–307
Robbins, Caroline, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman: . . . English Liberal Thought . . . until the War with the Thirteen Colonies*, reviewed, 435–36
Rogers, Rev. James, letters of, 259–95; photograph of (repro.), 261
Rogers, Mrs. James, photograph of (repro.), 294
Rogers, Robert, biography of, reviewed, 117–18
Romig, Rev. Edgar F., reviews by, 211–14, 227–29
Roosevelt, Theodore, lithograph of (repro.), 385; cartoon on defeat of, in 1886 Mayoralty election, 389; review of book on, 226–27
Ross, Marvin C., ed., *George Catlin: Episodes from "Life Among the Indians" and "Last Rambles,"* reviewed, 219–21
Rowlandson, Thomas, Staffordshire designs from engravings by (repro.), 240–45, 247, 248
Sacramento City in 1849 (illus.), 285
St. Memin, C. B. F. de. engraving by (repro.), 296
San Francisco in 1849 (illus.), 277
Sarony & Major, lithographs by (repro.), 273, 277, 291
Scoon, Carolyn, review by, 230–31
Seymour, Harold, *Baseball: The Early Years*, reviewed, 337–38
Shelley, Fred, *A Guide to the Manuscripts Collection of the New Jersey Historical Society*, notice of, 231
Shryock, Richard Harrison, *Medicine and Society in America, 1660–1860*, reviewed, 431–33
Simond, Louis, portrait of (repro.), 103
Smirke, Robert, Staffordshire designs from drawings by (repro.), 254, 255, 257
Smith, Frank, and David E. Gardner, *Genealogical Research in England and Wales*, reviewed, 128
Smith, Helen Burr, "Nicholas Biddle Kittell (1822–1894): A Forgotten New York State Artist," 395–412
Spanish-American War, book about, reviewed, 338–39
Spencer, Ivor Debenham, *The Victor and the Spoils*, reviewed, 124–25
Staffordshire, Anglo-American, article on, 237–58
Stamp Act crisis, book about, reviewed, 209–11
State, War, and Navy Department Building, Washington, D.C. (illus.), 183
Sterling, David L., review by, 218–19
Stitt, Edward W., Jr., review by, 440–41
Stony Point, article on, 43–71; capture of, 1779 (illus.), 42
Strassman, W. Paul, *Risk and Technological Innovation . . .*, reviewed, 224–26
Stringer & Townsend, lithograph by (repro.), 267
Stuart, Gilbert, portrait after (repro.), 132; portrait by (repro.), 150
Stuyvesant, Peter, book about, reviewed, 114–15
Sutter's Mill, Coloma, California (illus.), 291
Swett, Steven C., "The Test of a Reformer: A Study of Seth Low, New York City Mayor, 1902–1903," 5–41; review by, 339–40

Tappert, Theodore G., and John W. Doberstein, eds., *Notebook of a Colonial Clergyman, Condensed from the Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, reviewed, 211–14
Taylor, Bayard, lithograph of drawing by (repro.), 277
Tennessee (steamship), lithograph of (repro.), 273
"The Test of a Reformer: A Study of Seth Low, New York City Mayor, 1902–1903," by Steven C. Swett, 5–41
Townsend & Stringer, lithograph by (repro.), 267
Tracy, Benjamin Franklin, article about, 179–201; engraving of (repro.), 178
Trumbull, John, painting by (repro.), 104–5
Uniforms of the American Revolution, British, article about, 43–71; (illus.), 49, 50, 53, 56, 59, 61, 63, 64, 67, 68, 70
Vail, Marie Rogers, ed., "Gold Rush Letters of the Reverend James Rogers," 259–95
Vail, R. W. G., article on presentation of NYHS Gold Medal for Achievement in History to, 203–5; photograph of (repro.), 202; review by, 128
Van Buren, Martin, book about, reviewed, 122–23
Van Deusen, Glyndon G., *The Jacksonian Era, 1828–1848*, reviewed, 123–24
Wade, Richard C., *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790–1830*, reviewed, 442–43.
Wainwright, Nicholas B., *George Croghan, Wilderness Diplomat*, reviewed, 115–17; *Philadelphia in the Romantic Age of Lithography . . .*, notice of, 344
Wallace, Paul A. W., review by, 115–17
Washburn, Wilcomb E., *The Governor and the Rebel*, reviewed, 208–9
Washington, George, invited by Gens. Heath, Knox, and von Steuben to become president of the Cincinnati (illus.), 164
Weisberger, Bernard A., review by, 120–22
Weitenkampf, Frank, review by, 223–24
Westall, Richard, Staffordshire design from drawing by (repro.), 254
White, Philip L., reviews by, 209–11, 336–37, 435–36
White House Green Room (illus.), 149
Whitehill, Walter Muir, *Boston: A Topographical History*, reviewed, 428–29; review by, 433–35
Wilkie, Sir David, Staffordshire designs from drawings by (repro.), 249–53
Williams, Gen. Alpheus S., Civil War letters of, reviewed, 127–28
Wilmerding, Lucius, Jr., "James Monroe and the Furniture Fund," 133–49; *The Electoral College*, reviewed, 222–23
Wolf, William J., review by, 443
Woman's rights movement, book about, reviewed, 125–26
Wood, Fernando, photograph of (repro.), 355
Yohn, Frederick Coffay, illustration by (repro.), 42

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